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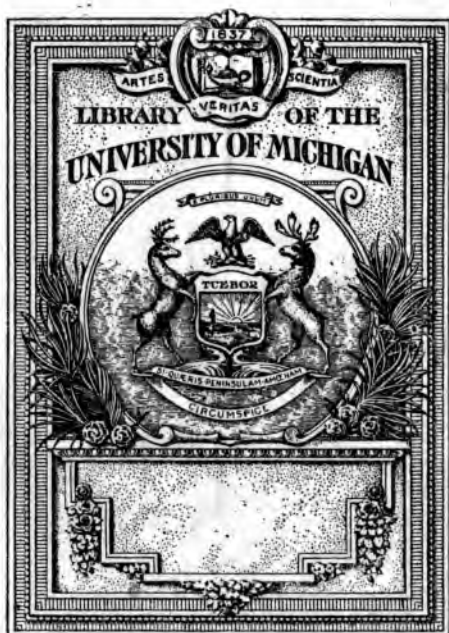
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INTRODUCTION
TO THE
PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY

**A TEXT BOOK FOR COLLEGES AND
UNIVERSITIES**

BY
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TO

ELMER CUMMINGS GRIFFITH

*Under whose inspiration the study of
Sociology was begun, and whose
friendship has since been an
aid and guide, this book
is affectionately
dedicated.*

60.841



PREFACE

In the past we have had almost as many different conceptions of sociology as there have been sociologists. But gradually there has been evolving a more or less definite idea of what the science really includes, and the time seems ripe for a text that will represent this movement. The author does not look upon sociology as a theoretical analysis of society, nor as a sort of social psychology; neither does he consider it merely the study of some of our social problems. He looks upon sociology as a broader and deeper subject than any of these conceptions of the past, as a subject that comprises in a related fashion these different specific phases.

The plan of the book is to give the student who takes but one course in sociology a general idea of the whole science, and to give to the student who continues the subject a foundation for advanced work. Emphasis is placed upon those subjects that will be of greatest practical value to the student, such as immigration, the race question, the family, poverty, and crime, altho other phases of the science, such as the evolution of institutions and the general principles of social theory, are not neglected.

At the end of each chapter is given a list of reading references, so that the text can be used in a one term course with a limited amount of outside reading, and in a two terms course with more extended use of collateral readings. Chapter fourteen, on education, can easily be omitted if time is limited.

Because of the general nature of the text and because much of the subject matter is common property, the author has made no attempt to refer to the original source of the information given; all the leading books used will be found in the bibliography at the end. The writer wishes to express his appreciation for advice and help on the part of his friends and colleagues, especially to Prof. L. J. Mills for valued aid in revising the manuscript and to Mrs. Dow for her timely suggestions and aid thruout the entire work.

WACO, TEXAS, May 8, 1920.

G. S. Dow.

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PART ONE
INTRODUCTION



CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF SOCIOLOGY

What Is Sociology? — While it is not unusual nowadays to begin a text-book without supplying a definition; the author considers it entirely unsafe to start the tyro in the science of sociology without furnishing him with some idea of the nature of that science. Nearly every student entering an introductory course in sociology has a more or less hazy conception of the subject; he thinks that it will probably take up some such topics as poverty, crime, vice and intemperance, and that it will include an investigation of slums and a consideration of other causes of the miseries of humanity. Yet if this same student were asked to point out the difference between sociology and socialism, he would probably be at a loss how to explain it.

There are as many definitions of sociology as there are text-books on sociology and altho the majority of these definitions are more or less incomplete, the author hesitates to add another to the collection. Sociology has been defined as "the science of society", "the scientific study of society", "the science of social phenomena", "the study of human association", "the science of the social process", "the science of the social relation", and as "the science which treats of the phenomena of society arising from the association of mankind". A similar list of definitions of equal value and weight could be added to this one. Probably the clearest and best definition given to date is that furnished by Professor Ellwood¹ in "the science which deals with human association, its origin, development, forms and functions".

Different Conceptions of Sociology. — The reason for the differences in regard to the definition of sociology is to be found largely in the various conceptions held by sociologists in regard to the scope and field of the science. Some look upon sociology as an inclusive science, embracing all the fields

¹"*Sociology and Modern Social Problems*", p. 13.

of human endeavor; others ascribe to it but a limited field, restricting it to a technical analysis of the forms of association, or to a classification of the different groups found among men. Therefore, before we attempt another definition of sociology and before we outline what we shall expect to study, we should take a glance at these existing conceptions, or perhaps we ought to say, groups of conceptions held by the leading sociologists.

1. *Sociology as a Study of Social Problems.*—As we suggested in our first paragraph, the idea that sociology is a study of social problems, is the notion held by the majority of those who have not studied sociology, and, unfortunately by a few who have, or at least think that they have, studied the science. While sociology undoubtedly does treat of the evils found in society and of their remedies, it is not confined to them. Sociology treats of the normal as well as the abnormal; it analyzes the healthy phases of society as well as the unhealthy; in fact, it regards the abnormal, unhealthy phases of society as examples of maladjustment, as examples of what ought not to be; it considers the evils of society as exceptions to the normal evolution of society. Such phases it relegates to one side, or one corner of the field of the science. Different branches of sociology, such as philanthropy or criminology, devote their time exclusively to these unwholesome, abnormal elements of society. While these without doubt are among the most attractive parts of the science, they are by no means all of it. The attraction which these phases have for numbers of people accounts undoubtedly for the widespread misconception.

2. *Sociology as a Theoretical Analysis of Human Association.*—A view held, not by those ignorant of the science, but by professed sociologists, is that sociology is an analysis of human association. The nature of this analysis depends upon the sociologist. Professor Simmel regards sociology as the science of the order or organization of society. Professor Small limits it almost exclusively to the study of groups and group action. Professor Giddings has worked out a very elaborate system, based chiefly upon the sociability trait of mankind. Others treat it as a study of human interests and of the forces that control human action. Still others limit it to a study of the present organization of society. The criticism of these conceptions is much the same as that made of the

popular idea—they take up only one side of the science. Each of the above treatment is unquestionably sociology; but each is too narrow to stand for the whole science. Each one shows only one phase of the science. The trouble lies in the fact that sociology is a new science; when a sociologist develops a new theory, he becomes so engrossed in it that he can see nothing but it; so he tries to build a whole science upon what ought to be only the foundation of one wing of the structure, instead of the whole building.

3. *Sociology as the Study of Civilization.*—Under the conception of sociology as the study of civilization, the development of human institutions, such as the state, the family, religion, language, and education are treated. While admitting other phases of the science, Professor Ward, without doubt America's greatest sociologist, confined himself to this kind of treatment. While this also is sociology, and in fact is probably the most important phase of the science, it is subject to criticism in that it is too broad, since it includes political science, economics, and history as well as sociology. Moreover it does not give sufficient attention to present conditions—a subject in which the ordinary student of the science is much more interested than he is in the state of society twenty-five thousand years ago, for he looks naturally to this study for aid in living the life set before him. This study of civilization gives us, however our ideas in regard to the evolution of society; herein lies its chief value.

4. *Sociology as a Social Philosophy.*—Another conception quite often held is that sociology treats society in much the same way as psychology treats the individual—that it is a study of the social mind, an interpretation of what man does, why he does it and how he does it. This again is part of sociology but not all of sociology. This, while an important phase of the science, is perhaps the most difficult one and for that reason has been less fully investigated than any other.

As has already been indicated, sociology is not one but all of these. Sociology deals with human association, with the origin, the development, forms, and functions of society. It includes as subjects of study the origin and development of human institutions; the forms thru which society has passed; the organization of society today, and the present day conditions; interests which prompt human action; the forces which exist in and control society; and the social mind.

Sociology may be divided into theoretical and practical, or as they are often called, pure and applied. The former deals with the origin and development of institutions, the analysis of human interests, social forces, and social psychology; the latter takes up the conditions found in society today and generally gives special attention to the problem side. This volume will attempt to cover both theoretical and practical sociology, but it will pay particular attention to the practical side.

What Is Society? — As we have stated, sociology is the study of human association—society; and before we go any farther we must have a common understanding of the meaning of this term. Here again we find a difference of opinion. Some sociologists have looked upon *society* as merely another term for *humanity*, or *mankind*. Others have treated it as synonymous with the term *nation*; this however is not the commonly accepted view; in fact it is one generally discarded. Others look upon *society* as standing for a certain select or special aggregation or *cultural group*. Sometimes the word is used as referring to *social intercourse*. It is, however, becoming the accepted practice in sociology to look upon *society* as meaning the *group*, that is an indefinite number of persons bound together by more or less permanent relations, as a family, a club, a fraternity, a class, a party thrown together at random in travel, or in general any body of persons united by some tie, even tho that tie be brief and transitory. Ellwood defines *society* as "any group of psychically interested individuals".¹ Yet at times *society* does undoubtedly refer to the nation, to a race, or even to humanity, but even then it regards the nation, the race and humanity as expanded groups. It is more concerned with the phenomena of the association of the members of the group, than with the individuals composing the group.

Professor Giddings has very carefully organized the modes of association into eight different kinds; these he calls the sympathetic, congenial, approbational, despotic, authoritative, conspirital, contractional, and idealistic.² While this scheme is elaborate and shows much ingenuity, it is not very helpful, as it is confusing rather than clarifying.

Complexity of the Social Process. — The social order

¹Ellwood, "*Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects*", p. 13.

²*American Journal of Sociology*, vol. X, pp. 161-176.

cannot be explained by any one rule or set of rules, or shown to be the result of any one force or principle, as Professor Tarde tried to develop it by using as the key for all social phenomena the one principle, imitation. Neither will any such key as "consciousness of kind" or "occupational group" unlock the door. Human association is too complicated and intricate to be so explained. Different forces are constantly at work in society, some in co-operation, and some in opposition to each other. Too many interests prompt human action to be explained by any particular set of motives. But tho the organization of society can be reduced to some sort of order and system it is by no means an easy thing to do. So while it might be more logical to take up the analysis of society at this point than to postpone it until later, we shall make a study of the people that make up society and the development of the institutions in society before we analyze the interests that prompt men to act and the forces that control human action.

However we may notice here for the purpose of illustrating the complexity of society, the principle of co-operation, which is always at work, whether consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly. To get a conception of this principle one has only to stop to consider the number of persons who take part in producing any one commodity, bread for illustration, a loaf of which we for years were able to purchase for the sum of five cents. Not only the grocer who sold us the bread and the baker who made the loaf, but also the railway employees who handled the flour; the miller who ground the wheat; the men who made the machinery used in the mill, the cars on the railroad, or even the mill itself, and those who laid the track for the railroads; the other railway employees who carried the wheat to the mill; the farmer, who grew the grain; the men who made the farm machinery used in raising and harvesting the grain; the miners who brought the ore out of the ground, and the lumbermen who cut the lumber used in the machinery, as well as the men employed in the more immediate process of handling the grain or flour—all helped to produce the loaf of bread. In fact we should be obliged to go back several years to find all of the persons who had a part in the production of that one loaf of bread. The same is true of every other commodity produced. It is a complicated world in which we live, a vast machinery which man has constructed. Human association is

too intricate to lend itself easily to explanation. Man cannot be isolated; he cannot live without his fellow beings. He must come into contact with them.

The Relation of Sociology to the Other Sciences. — When sociologists, like Comte and Ward, attempt to classify all the sciences, they generally rank sociology either as the leading science, the most advanced, and most important science, or else make the statement that sociology includes the bulk of the other sciences, especially those most closely related to economics, political science, religion, ethics, history, and anthropology. The principal result of these extravagant claims has been to antagonize the other sciences, and to cause sociology to be discredited, because of its laying claims to fields of that which it not only cannot adequately cover, but to which it has no valid claim. For a new science suddenly to appear and appropriate to itself, on the basis of a new classification, fields of that, which have been cultivated and worked over for long periods of time by other sciences, is too much to be conceded and the attempt at appropriation has, in the mind of the writer, hindered rather than advanced sociology. We shall make no such assumption for sociology; we shall not try to prove that it is the *scientia scientiarum*, or that it includes within its domain any of the older sciences. Sociology has its own boundaries, which include a territory large enough to afford sociologists ample room for work and investigation. Sociology does, however, border on other sciences and at times does invade their fields, but no more than they, in turn, border on sociology and encroach upon its domain.

There is what might be called a fund of human knowledge, from which all sciences draw, a sort of common forest to which each goes for its raw material. Sociology takes from this common source of supply facts of which other sciences avail themselves, and uses them as timber in the building of its structures. It may take the same information and dispose of it in a manner entirely different from that of some other sciences. For example we know that the Normans conquered England; history makes use of that fact for its purposes, so does sociology in illustrating its theory of social assimilation or the mingling of races. Art, religion, ethics, economics and political science may make use of this same fact, but each will use it in its own way, from its own point of view. Sociology makes use of investigations of other

sciences like chemistry, geology and economics; but it on the other hand makes investigations into such questions as standards of living, human interests, causes and conditions of poverty, etc., the results of which are, in turn, used by other sciences. Sociology possibly because it is a general rather than a detailed science, has more to do with classification and arrangements than with delving. Because sociology considers problems and conditions which other sciences, especially economics and history, do not know how to handle, it has often been called "the science of left-overs"; however this accusation is no more true of sociology than it is of other sciences, except in so far as sociologists because of the newness of their subject have at times been puzzled to know how accurately to limit their field of endeavor and logically to classify their material. Sociology has also been accused of being the biggest thief among the sciences, in that it steals all it likes, and rejects everything it does not know how to use or does not care to include. This arraignment has been made more in the spirit of jealousy than from any other motive, because of the attractions sociology presents and the number of disciples it has acquired. In order to observe more closely the position of sociology in regard to the other sciences let us consider it in relation to some of its nearest neighbors.

1. *Sociology and Economics.* — Possibly the nearest neighbor to sociology is economics, the science of wealth, which deals with the phenomena resulting from the wealth-getting and wealth-using activities of man—a province much more definitely marked out and limited than that of sociology. Economics takes up the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth and works out laws or principles in regard to such activities. When sociology has to deal with problems or conditions involving the distribution of wealth, such as poverty, for illustration, it must necessarily go to economics for the principles underlying and the laws governing the distribution of wealth. Again, when sociology deals with phenomena involving the production of wealth, sociology must go to economics for the purpose of learning the factors involved in the production of wealth. On the other hand, when economics deals with exchange of wealth, for instance, it must go to sociology for an understanding of the human interests which cause people to desire articles they do not possess and to be willing to exchange things they have for them. It must

go to sociology for a knowledge of the forces which control human action. Economics cannot explain the desire of man for sociability, his craving for companionship, altho it must recognize this as a factor in the distribution of wealth. Custom, habit, imitation, and similar factors are constantly making themselves felt in the economic world, and economics must learn of sociology the laws or principles governing these in the same manner that sociology is obliged to go to economics for certain information. Sociology must depend upon economics in matters involving the production, distribution and consumption of wealth; economics must depend upon sociology in matters connected with human association or the social activities of man. Each is indispensable to the other; but neither can be said to be a part of the other, altho over-enthusiastic students of both sciences sometimes make such assertions. There is a border-ground, claimed more or less by each, involving such problems as poverty, and the movements and increase of population, where it is hard to draw the line between the two sciences.

2. *Sociology and Political Science.*—Political science, or as it is often called, the science of government, deals with such problems as the origin, nature, forms, and functions of the state; the location of sovereignty, and the questions of administration; it has a relation to sociology very similar to that of economics to sociology. The state is one of the leading institutions of society and as such comes in for treatment under sociology; therefore the origin and development of the state are phenomena treated by both sciences. Here, however, political science is more dependent upon sociology than sociology is upon political science, for political science has to come to sociology for a knowledge of the principles of social control and for an understanding of those who are governed, as well as other basic principles which must be considered in the administration of government. Sociology uses the facts of political science chiefly for the purpose of illustrating some of its general principles. The line between the two is much clearer than between sociology and economics, and because of this there is less friction between them.

3. *Sociology and History.*—History is a more or less concrete science, and therefore is much more definite than sociology. It treats of the past actions of man—what man has done, and how he did it. Sociology must go to history constantly for material, for information, for illustrations, and

for the proof of its principles, as well as for explanation of its conditions. On the other hand history has to depend upon sociology for an explanation of the motives prompting man to act. There is little conflict between sociology and objective history, altho a few historians would include all sociology in history; but when it comes to some of the subdivisions or branches of history, like historiography and philosophy of history, the lines of distinction fade. Many historians assert, for illustration, that sociology is little better than a philosophy of history, altho philosophy of history has never dealt with more than a very few of the problems of sociology. On the whole the distinction here is much better drawn than it is between sociology and economics. Each is dependent upon the other, altho history could probably get along much better without sociology than sociology could without history. History, at any rate, did exist for hundreds of years; altho it is undoubtedly true that sociology has added much to history—indeed it has almost revolutionized that science—for it has added warmth and human interest to what was heretofore merely a collection of dry facts. In short sociology has socialized history and has broadened it. History no longer concerns itself only with battles, the doings of rulers, and the acts of the nobility; it gives attention now to the life of the common people, their standards of living, ideals, habits and customs, as well as to the acts of their rulers. If this were the only contribution sociology has made to science, its mission would be justified.

4. *Sociology and Anthropology*.—Anthropology, or the study of man considered zoologically or ethnographically, generally regarded as a study of ancient man, stands in much the same relation to sociology as does history. Sociology uses anthropology as a source book of facts concerning primitive man: his early history and the origin and development of his institutions, such as the family, the state, and religion. Anthropology, like history, has been broadened by sociology, being changed from a mere catalogue of collections to an attempt to trace the evolution of society from its beginning to the present. The border ground between these two sciences extends along so much of the field of anthropology that it is difficult to tell where anthropology ends and sociology begins, but anthropology confines itself to ancient man and sociology deals more with the present or at least historical period.

5. *Sociology and Ethics*.—The relationship existing

between sociology and ethics is not so easily traced as it has been in the cases examined above. Ethics, the science of morality, deals with what ought to be; it is idealistic, altho it has to take cognizance of social facts. On the other hand sociology deals with what has been and with what is. For such information ethics relies upon sociology, altho ethics does not attempt to manipulate these facts except insofar as they relate to what ought to be. Ethics deals with standards, ideals, and norms. Sociology, while it leads up to ideals, does not discuss them; it merely considers things as they are. In other words sociology leads towards ethics, but stops before reaching it. Ethics, being a science of value and ideals, invades all realms of activity and attempts to set up standards of action. It is dependent not only upon sociology, but likewise upon nearly all the sciences, altho it is supported more directly by sociology than by any other.

6. *Sociology and the Natural Sciences.*—For the Sociologist the most important of the natural sciences is biology. It furnishes sociology with facts of physical life, particularly facts of anatomy, of nerve, muscle, and various other functions of the body. Sociology must derive from biology a knowledge of the laws of heredity and reproduction. Indeed it must obtain from biology all the facts it needs respecting animal life. In the same way sociology must go to chemistry, physics, geology, geography, and the other natural sciences for information concerning their respective fields. None of these has, however, much need for such a vague general science as sociology; in fact these are the foundation sciences, or better perhaps, the mechanical sciences.

7. *Sociology and Psychology.*—Psychology, like economics, is a near neighbor to sociology. Each constantly invades the other's territory, for the boundaries are hard to distinguish at times. Psychology, the science of consciousness, or of mental action, deals essentially with the individual; while sociology deals with society or with groups of individuals; this is the chief distinction between them. To be a sociologist one must be a psychologist, to understand society one must know the principles of psychology. For since psychology is a study of the individual mind, and since society is merely a collection of individuals, to understand the social mind one must necessarily understand the individual mind. Altho the individual will often act and think differently when in a group from what he would do alone, his mental processes

are the same. And many of the forces that control human action, and the interests that prompt man to act, can be explained only by psychology. Many people look upon sociology as social psychology, consisting merely of a psychical analysis of society. While social psychology is a very important part of sociology, especially of pure or theoretical sociology, and, in reality, affects all phases of the science, it is by no means the whole of it. Social psychology is merely that side of sociology which faces psychology. It is the border-land between the two sciences and is of course claimed by both. Sociology is as dependent upon psychology as psychology is upon biology; it needs psychology as much as it needs economics tho probably no more. A number of sociologists, especially Tarde and Giddings, have taken certain psychological principles and have built whole systems of society upon them. This is, of course, carrying the point to the extreme; but fully to interpret society the sociologist must recognize the psychical forces at work and, as far as possible, explain them.

Other sciences might be mentioned as having some bearing upon sociology but these which have been discussed are the most closely related; and of these the most important are economics, psychology, history and biology.

Several of the sciences touched upon in the preceding paragraphs form what is generally called the social science group, because of the close relation each science has to society and to the others in the group. But as to just what sciences should be included there is no general concensus of opinion. Everyone recognizes the validity of sociology, economics, political science and anthropology and nearly everyone includes history. Some add ethics and religion, and a few, psychology. Such a classification is usually made from a pedagogical point of view, because it helps to straighten the perplexity liable to arise in the mind of the student. Blackmar and Gillin¹ give perhaps the best classification of the social sciences, with the principal subheads under each one, as follows:

I. ETHICS.

Principles of Ethics.
History of Ethics.
Social Ethics.

¹*Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 26-27.

II. ECONOMICS.

Economic Theory and Institutions.
Economic Politics.
Industrial History.
Labor Legislation.
Banking and Monetary Theory.
Taxation and Finance.

III. POLITICS.

Political Theory.
Diplomacy and International Law.
National Administration.
Municipal Administration.
Constitutional Law.
Colonial Administration.

IV. HISTORY.

Political History.
History of Institutions.
Social History.
Historical Geography.

V. SOCIOLOGY

Descriptive Sociology.
Social Origins.
Social Evolution.
Social Pathology.
Socialization and Social Control.
Social Psychology.
History of Sociology.

VI. ANTHROPOLOGY.

General Anthropology.
Ethnology.
Ethnography.
Somatology.
Archeology.

VII. COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

Additions might be made to this list; this classification is by no means given as the only method of arrangement, but as perhaps the best one suggested so far. At any rate it serves our purpose by helping to show the relationship existing between the sciences commonly called social.

Sociology a General Science. — Sociology has often been criticized for being too general, too loosely put together; it has been faulted because it does not draw hard and fast lines, because it cannot say that such and such will happen. In chemistry whenever two or more elements are put together in the same proportions, the result will always be the same if the affecting conditions are uniform. Likewise in physics

the laws of the lever, of gravity, etc., always act invariably when conditions are correspondent. In mathematics results can be determined accurately; they cannot, in fact, be obtained otherwise. Chemistry, physics and mathematics are exact sciences, where definite laws can be formulated. Sociology does not exhibit such undeviating precision. For two persons, surrounded with exactly the same environment, may turn out opposite in character; the one may become an altruistic social worker, and the other a dangerous criminal; or the one may become a spendthrift, the other a millionaire. The factors are too many and varied to admit the formulation of definite laws. No two persons are alike; hence they will never act similarly under the same stimulus—if such can be obtained. Because sociology cannot lay down comprehensive laws, many persons go so far as to deny to it the honor of being called a science. Such criticisms are becoming fewer as people become more familiar with sociology. It is being recognized that each science has its own method and peculiarities. It would be as fair and valid to criticize biology because it rearranges its theories every now and then; or to condemn mathematics because it is not an end in itself, but merely a means by which other sciences reach their objectives; or to berate economics because the economists cannot agree among themselves as to what interest, rent, and labor really are, as it is to criticize sociology because it cannot lay down any definite, hard and fast laws. Sociology has its laws, but they are not iron-clad; they are rather statements of tendencies or generalizations. In short, they are broad summaries of general conditions, which will be likely to produce certain, normal results in the majority of cases. The same is true in tracing periods in social history; seldom can definite dates be given, at least for humanity in general. Different races or peoples may adopt the same invention, but at vastly different dates. They may pass thru like stages of culture, but at widely varying periods of time. One race or nation may progress rapidly, while another not far distant may progress much more slowly. The reason is that the contributing factors are too many and varied to be all taken into consideration. In fact, only a few of the most evident factors are ever known. If we could perceive all the forces at work and recognize all the determining conditions, then we might be able to predict as accurately what would happen as does the chemist when he mixes up various elements.

Therefore in our study of sociology we shall not meet concisely phrased universal laws, like those with which we become familiar in mathematics and physics; nevertheless we must not ignore social laws, for they are equal in importance to the laws derived in the exact sciences; in the case of sociology as the complications are greater and the laws are more difficult to formulate, and hence have to be stated as tendencies and generalizations. Moreover we must not condemn sociology if it uses the same facts of society that other sciences use, for it, too, has a right to use these facts. Because sociology is one of the most recently developed sciences its limitations are not so well fixed as those of the older sciences; yet the point of view is distinct from that of any other science; sociology owes no apology for existing.

Sociology deals with phenomena, the principles and facts of human association. In discussing these we must notice the origin and development of society, the interests prompting human action and the forces controlling man, and the present organization of society, as well as the problems confronting society. In following this general plan we shall first study population—the effect of nature upon population, human migration and the mixture of races; this will lead us to our present day problems of immigration and the negro. Second, we shall trace the evolution of society, giving special attention to the family, the state and religion. Third, we shall analyze the organization of present day society, first in its normal or healthy aspect, then in its abnormal or pathological aspect; and finally we may take a glimpse into the future in an attempt to outline forthcoming social progress.

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PART TWO
POPULATION

CHAPTER II

MAN AND NATURE

OR

THE INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT
UPON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY

The influence of geographic environment upon society, is an influence which many writers ignore entirely, and one which a few, especially Buckle and Miss Semple, emphasize far more than there is any reason to do. In this chapter that influence will be considered as one of the molders of civilization, but not as the chief factor.

Influence Upon Population. — The survival of man as a race of beings has always depended to a great extent upon nature, for it is to nature that he has to look for sustenance. This dependence was much greater with primitive than it is with civilized man, for primitive man lived by the direct appropriation of the gifts of nature. He subsisted upon berries, fruits, nuts, shellfish, and, in fact, anything edible on which he could lay his hands. Since his very existence was thus dependent upon nature, he had to live in those localities where food could be obtained. Later when he added fish to his bill of fare he was drawn toward the streams and the seashore in order to get this more staple form of food; when he began to hunt he moved to the regions where game could be found. Still later when he began to domesticate animals he sought the grassy regions where his cattle could feed. And when agriculture was also added as a means of providing food he was more than ever beholden to nature because the cultivation of the crops could be successfully pursued only where the soil was of sufficient richness, where there was a sufficient amount of rainfall, and where the climate provided the right temperature. The adoption of each new method of getting food made man no less dependent upon nature; it simply made him less dependent upon one particular

condition of nature. If one means of subsistence failed he had the others to fall back upon.

The climate that man lives in determines to a great extent the amount and kind of food he needs. The objects of food are to give warmth to the body and repair tissues worn by bodily activity. If man lives in a cold region he not only must have more food than if he lives in a warm region but it must be of a different kind; it must supply greater heat, and hence must be made up more of fats. Also in a cold climate greater exertion is necessary to provide a living; hence the amount of waste matter worn out by the body is greater and more food is required. In a warm region less exertion is necessary—in fact little is desired; as a result there is a minimum of waste and less need consequently of fats; fruits are preferred for food. Moreover in the warm climates food is abundant; because slight exertion is necessary little ingenuity is required; hence as we shall find out later, the warm regions never produce the sturdy, ingenious races of people that the colder regions develop. This is one reason why practically all conquering races come from the north, and why a great continent like Africa and an immense territory like India are easily conquered by small European nations. Indeed all thru the past it has been from the north that the conquering races have come. The very fact that these peoples had to work indefatigably to make a living made them energetic and resourceful; their constant, keen battle with nature and their struggles to endure hardships made them brave and fearless. On the other hand, those peoples living in a warm region where food was abundant did not have to worry about the future; they were able to support themselves with little work; they became therefore indolent, unresourceful and timid.

Before trade and commerce were developed enuf to bring in food from other places, the amount of food produced by any region determined the number of people who could live there. This explains why we find civilization first developing in the rich river valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile; for, because these regions were able to support a large population, many people came into contact with each other, exchanged ideas, so progressed more rapidly than in other regions where, because of the scarcity of the food supply, only a few could live. Land used for grazing will not support a large population but it will support more than if it were used for hunting, for domestic animals can be raised on a

smaller space than that required by wild animals sufficiently numerous to supply food. Fishing will support a larger population than hunting or grazing, if the fish are abundant, as in a large lake, river, or sea. Agriculture will provide for still more; but even here the kinds of plants cultivated have to be considered. Potatoes, for example, require much less space than corn or wheat; bananas require even less than potatoes. Where population increases, more intensive methods of cultivation are used, the plants being grown which require little space. Thus the population which a region can support depends upon its soil, its rainfall, and its temperature, unless a deficiency is made up in some other way. In modern times trade, commerce and manufacturing have been developed as substitutes for the basic occupations, enabling the people to produce other commodities to exchange for food. If Great Britain and the New England states were not able to manufacture goods to exchange they would not be able to support the dense populations which they do.

Effect on the Life of the People. — Geographical conditions not only affect the food supply but also determine almost every phase of the life of the people. The climate determines whether much or little clothing is required. In the case of animals nature regulates this herself, supplying a coat of fur or hair to offset a falling in the temperature. Man is not thus looked after but is required to provide for himself. However, in cold regions furs and feathers can be obtained, while in the warm regions, reeds, grasses, fibres and barks can be used, man nearly always finding at hand the commodities necessary to provide suitable clothing. This matter is not so important as one would perhaps think, for, as we shall see later, the wearing of clothing developed for the sake of ornament rather than for protection to the body. The case of shelter is much the same; in warm countries little is needed; in colder regions more must be provided. Probably the most important effect is the fact that the scramble for food, clothing, and shelter in the colder regions develops energy and resourcefulness—characteristics which are not so well developed in the warmer zones.

Effect Upon Economic Development. — The country in which people live also determines their occupation. If there is an abundance of game man will hunt; if the streams are well stocked with fish he will fish. If the country is suitable for grazing, he will domesticate animals and become

pastoral. If the soil is productive he will become an agriculturalist. If he lives on the coast, where he can get materials for ships, and is not too strongly tempted by the productiveness of the land, he will become a sailor. If a group of people is located between peoples who are engaged in different occupations, as agricultural tribes on one side and pastoral on the other, it is likely to become a commercial race, exchanging the commodities of its neighbors. The development of various industries among nations of the world has been largely owing to the geographical conditions which surround those countries. England has become an industrial nation because of her poor soil, abundance of fuel and dense population. Because of exactly opposite conditions Denmark has become a highly developed agricultural nation. China became largely agricultural because of her rich river valleys. The Phœnecians, the Carthaginians, the Venetians, the Dutch and later the English and the Germans took up commerce because of locations favorable to it, coupled with other inducements, as excess populations, and insufficient natural resources. The American Indians remained primarily hunters because of an abundance of game and the thinness of the population. In fact the economic life of every nation has been molded, to a great extent, by geographic conditions. For not only has the occupation chosen by man—or perhaps we ought to say, the occupation forced upon him—been largely the result of nature, but also the success with which he has followed it is ascribable to natural conditions. If man were not able to produce more than he consumes, there would be nothing left over to serve as capital; hence there would be no industry, little leisure time, no education, and slight progress in civilization. Tibet, the Arctic regions, and the Caucasus are good examples of this state of affairs; furthermore they are so situated that they could not develop commerce or industry. If we regard the different sections of the United States, we can find many illustrations of the influence of natural conditions. The great fertile regions of the Central States and the rich sections scattered over the country, such as the Mississippi valley and those found in California, Oregon, and Washington, are given over to agriculture; the hilly districts of New England are devoted to manufacturing and small gardening; that portion lying just west of the farming section, being too poor for the best farming, is taken up with cattle and sheep ranches. Each locality tries to do that for which it

is best adapted. In recent years this has come to be adopted more and more as the policy of nations, that each country must try to produce those things for which it is best fitted and not try to produce every thing that it consumed.

Effect Upon Human Institutions. — In the case of government we notice that the kind developed is largely the result of geographic environment. The development of democracy in the city-states of Greece was made possible by the mountain ranges which cut the country up into small sections. When the region is vast and yet remains isolated from other countries, conditions are much more favorable to the establishment of empires and unlimited monarchies, like those developed in Assyria, Persia, Russia and China. In countries where the people come into contact with those of other nations and have more opportunity to observe and think, we find the common people having a voice in the government, and the development of constitutional monarchies, free cities, and republics.

In regions made difficult to control because of inaccessible isolation we find lawlessness, brigandage, and absence of regular government; such have been the Caucasus, Afghanistan and Tibet, and such was, at the time of the arrival of the English, Northern India. Swamps, islands and mountains furnish refuges for pirates, brigands and other outlaws. The number of such places in the United States made a great problem of law enforcement in the early days of the West. The Highlanders of Scotland were known as a lawless people even after Scotland as a whole became a very highly developed country. The Kurds and Tartars have always been thorns in the flesh of their neighbors; punishment of their outrages has been hindered by the geography of their countries. It has often been used in this country, as an argument against prohibition that in such sections as the mountain districts of Kentucky the law could not be enforced because of the wildness of parts of the country. So, while other factors, racial stock, for example, must be taken into consideration, the geographical features of the country do undoubtedly have a great influence on the development of government and the enforcement of law in that country.

Policies of nations, such for instance, a nation's colonial policy, are often dictated or at least influenced by geographic environment; that is, they are suggested or forced upon the country because of its location and expanding population.

Policies of free trade or protection are determined by location and occupation. England favors free trade because she cannot produce raw materials and must import them along with her food supply; if she can get other countries to admit her manufactured products she gains thus much. The United States formerly was in the opposite situation and therefore held to the policy of protection; our increasing population is gradually changing our interests, and consequently, our tariff policy.

In regard to religion, we observe a psychical effect of a man's geographical location upon him, not only because of the nature of the atmosphere, the appearance of the sky, and the breadth of landscape, but also because of his occupation, which as we have already noticed, is itself largely determined by geographic features. We find that the great religions of the world have been given us by shepherd peoples, who have had opportunity to ponder over the mysteries of life; their beliefs were affected by direct contact with nature on the plains, where they could not help being impressed by the clear sky, the broadness of the view, and, as they led their flocks into the mountains in summer, by the grandeur of the scenery. On the contrary, we find, as a result of the complexity of life and the hidden dangers from beasts and reptiles, the religions of peoples living in the tropics saturated with magic and superstition. These tropical inhabitants could not explain nature, hence they thought its workings caused by spirits, which could be appeased only by magic.

Many social institutions, like slavery, have been fostered or prevented by the nature of the country. Slavery is generally confined to warm regions, where labor is irksome and food abundant, where the work of one man can support two and where the slave can be fed and clothed at little expense. In the United States slavery died out in the North because it was unprofitable; it flourished in the South because the slave could be worked to advantage on the large plantations. In the hilly regions of the South, particularly eastern Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, western Virginia, the western part of the Carolinas, and northern Georgia, slavery never did prosper and much of this territory favored the North in the Civil War. Likewise in Africa and Asia, slavery has flourished in those regions where the climate makes labor objectionable and where the occupation allows slave labor to be profitably employed. It is a fact that literature and education develop more in the northern or temperate climates; there is also more

democracy and equality in these regions, especially in those countries which are so located as to allow the inhabitants to come into contact with those of others.

Influence Upon the Family. — The position of woman in the family is governed largely by her importance as a provider. If her work is more important than that of her husband she either rules the family or has a great deal to say about the management of the home. When her work is a minor element she is relegated to the background. This is noticed in pastoral peoples, where she cannot tend the herds and as a result sinks into the position of a chattel. The same is true of hunting races, only here she is compelled to do the dirty work about the camp and become a drudge. Where life is cheap or living is hard we find infanticide practiced. In most of Africa woman occupies a place little better than that of a slave, while in the temperate zones she occupies a position more nearly equal to that of man.

Influence Upon the Character of the People. — The character of the people is influenced largely by geographic environment. As we have noticed the colder climates produce the warrior class, since these people from the colder countries have greater energy, courage, and ingenuity, while those in the warmer countries are more inclined to be indolent and improvident. The inhabitants of the warmer regions, as a rule, are more artistic, imaginative, and idealistic, their imagination being stimulated by their environment. They are also more hot-headed and impulsive, and have a lower estimate of the value of human life; life is easier with them, of less consequence; hence they are more apt to take life. Because of the greater exertion required, the northern peoples are as a rule harder and more muscular unless the climate is so severe as to stunt thru failure to provide sufficient nourishment. On the whole the tropics have a deadening effect while the colder regions of the temperate zone have a stimulating effect.

Influence Upon Human Migration. — We find that the movements of man have been governed by the geography of his country. If hemmed in by mountains, he was prevented from migration; if he lived on a plain, he could not keep from wandering. In his movements man has followed the tracks of least resistance, following river valleys, instead of climbing mountains, going around seas instead of crossing them. In short he has gone where nature has allowed him

to go. Deserts, swamps, mountains, oceans, seas, and even rivers have held him back, while the plain, the river valley, and the coast line have tempted him to roam into new fields. America was not settled until very late in the history of man because he could not get here. Europe on the contrary, being easily entered was settled early. Products of countries have lured man on. The fur trade in Siberia, Alaska, and northern Canada, was in fact, a great element in the settling of these countries. Ivory and rubber have drawn the European into Africa and South America, while gold and silver have lured him to the uttermost parts of the world, as the Klondike, northern Siberia, South Africa, Australia and Peru.

Effect on Recreation. — Even games and sports have been determined by the geographical location. In the colder regions strenuous sports are indulged in, from the necessity to keep warm. The favorite games of the temperate are football, baseball, tennis, running, jumping, and similar games demanding muscular energy. Still farther north we find skiing, snow shoeing and skating—sports utterly impossible in warm regions. In the tropics, exercise is not only not demanded but is irksome; hence recreation takes the form of inactivity, resting and avoidance of effort. We find Hindus and Chinese looking down upon Europeans because they indulge in violent sports, asking if it were not possible to hire coolies to play tennis or football and thus avoid the strenuous exercise; for them recreation is to sit still and do nothing.

Influence on Social Progress. — Whether a race or nation has advanced in the scale of civilization, or whether it has remained a backward people is largely a question of location. The peoples who have had a favorable location—in the temperate zone, on land which is productive and hence in demand, or on the coast where they can come into contact with others through trade or commerce; advance much more rapidly than those who are forced through some undesirable region, where they come into contact with few other peoples. Also the fact that people in the temperate zone have a distinct advantage over those in the tropics where nature is too generous and where vitality is sapped, is of great importance in producing social progress. The size and strength of a nation is determined by its boundaries; the mountains, seas, deserts, and swamps keep it from expanding, and from advancing in civilization. In fact we find our backward peoples living in the inaccessible regions of the world, *e.g.*, Tibet,

Afghanistan, the jungles of Africa, or the out-of-the-way spots of the earth, like Australia, Madagascar and Tera del Fuego. Whether a country is located in the interior or on the coast has much to do with its development, the interior location allowing expansion; it also offers opportunity for conquest, altho it does not allow as great intercourse with other peoples as a coast location. On the whole we find that the country which combines a large interior with a favorable coast region has a distinct advantage over the country that has only one of those features. The United States is very fortunate in having both; also France, Germany, and China have both. The nation that has but one strives for the other; Russia has striven for centuries for favorable outlets to the sea. The United States, in the early days of its history had the coast, but was not content till she added an extensive interior. The influence of many small countries, like Phœnecia, Greece, England, and Holland, has largely been made possible by their position. Location between two important countries allows the acquisition of the culture and civilization of both but it offers the danger of being overrun by either. Yet, on the other hand, we find that the struggle for existence becomes a struggle for space and that the superior races take possession of the best land, crowd the inferior races into the undesirable locations, invade the domain of weaker peoples, and take it away from them; so we see that location is not everything. Yet in general favorable location is a great help towards progress; unfavorable location is a handicap and check upon advancement. This is one of the chief reasons why certain races have advanced and others have not done so. In order to study this still better let us consider in more detail the influences of the different geographical factors, as water, mountains, plains, and climate, upon man's development.

Influence of Water Upon Man. — Man has always been essentially a land animal and has gone on the water only in quest of food and economic gain. While he has often settled near the sea or a river it has been because of the nearness to a supply of food and because of protection, the sea insuring him against surprise in that quarter and the river at least causing the enemy delay before crossing, thus giving him time to defend himself. Man has even gone out into the water to build his home upon islands, or even sometimes on piles, so as to obtain a greater sense of security. Such houses have been found among the Malays and in the Swiss lakes;

(A)

history tells us that they were once resorted to near Thebes, affording the Greeks a refuge against the invading Persians. The sea has furnished man with an important addition to his food, thus permitting him to live in places otherwise uninhabitable, and has enabled him to go farther north than he could have done without its help. Barren regions are thereby made to support a denser population than they otherwise could do, as in the case of Newfoundland, Norway, Alaska, and Japan. In fact fisheries have been a great factor in maritime expansion, helping to people such regions as Alaska and the northeastern part of the United States. They have acted also as nurseries of seamen, leading to the commercial activities of New England in former days of the Dutch, and of the Scandinavians.

The control over water has been a great factor in civilization, and has been a subject of wars between nations thruout history. Such was the contest between the Greeks and the Phœnecians over the control of the Aegean Sea; of the Carthaginians and the Romans over the Mediterranean; of France and England over certain fisheries, and of the United States with France and England over fishing rights. Control over inland seas, lakes, and harbors is of vast importance. Coasts are outlets to commerce and expansion, and inlets to inventions, improvements and new ideas; because of this harbors are highly prized. The control over rivers is of equal importance for rivers are highways of expansion and act as intermediaries between land and sea. A country with navigable rivers has an immense advantage over one without them. The Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri rivers have been of inestimable value to this country, especially during its early development. Russia is handicapped by the facts that many of her rivers empty into the polar regions and that she has been unable to get a really serviceable seaport. Germany, like the United States, has a decided advantage in this respect. The control over the mouth of a river is of great strategic importance, since traffic becomes more important the nearer it gets to the mouth, controlling both exports and imports. This formerly was of more importance than it is now since the introduction of the railroad. The United States was forced to gain control of the mouth of the Mississippi for the sake of national and economic development. The Mediterranean Sea has always been handicapped by not having navigable rivers flowing into it, an early invasion of commerce and

civilization more than a few miles from the coast thus being prevented. The Baltic, on the contrary, has been of great value.

Coastal peoples, if their coast is accessible, always have an advantage over interior peoples because the coast acts as a zone of transition, a meeting place for different cultures and civilizations. It is a place where peoples from other countries may land, bring their ideas, habits, customs, and inventions; it acts as a gateway—an outlet for colonization and exportation, and an inlet for immigration and importation.

Colonies are always or nearly always planted near the shore; islands and peninsulas are first settled because they first come into the view of the explorers; then they offer means of communication and an easy retreat in case of need to the home country. Later, colonization spreads inland and occupies better territory. In the same way that peninsulas stretch out into the sea, rivers, bays, and harbors reach inland and carry the contact of the sea with them, bringing commerce and rapid development.

If the coast is cut off from the interior by mountains, or has no suitable harbors, as is the case with much of Africa, or is marshy, as at the mouth of the Nile, commerce will not come. If on the other hand, there are harbors, easy access to the interior, and articles of commerce near at hand, as in New England, Great Britain, Germany, Holland, and France, we find commerce developing rapidly. If, however, the interior is very rich—much richer than the coast—the coast will not tempt and the sea will not be utilized, such being the case with much of Africa.

Because of these advantages coast peoples are usually superior to those in the interior, that is, if the coast is favorable. If inaccessible, or barren, or out of the track of commerce, of course the opposite is true. But as a rule coastal people develop first. If we take a glance at Asia we notice that civilization and progress stick very closely to the coast, and that coastal people are far superior to the inhabitants of the interior. They are generally of mixed racial stock because of the mingling of different peoples. Location on inland seas has much the same advantage as that on the ocean; in fact such locations have acted earlier as means of intercourse and as cradles of ocean commerce, for inland seas have not held back people by the fear of the water as the ocean has. Altho at first the ocean held man back, acting as a barrier, with

the development of commerce the coast has become an aid to expansion; yet for political expansion it has not been as favorable as plains. Favorable location on the water has been the most potent factor in the advance of such nations as Phœnicia, Carthage, Holland, and England, and was one of the chief reasons for the rise of Greece and Rome. Coastal peoples are generally characterized by fearlessness and daring, not only because of the risks of their occupations, but also because colonists are ordinarily the boldest and most venturesome of people. Therefore the coasts receive the daring and enterprising men and women of other nations; and similarly the reckless and irresponsible. Coastal people, because of the great variety of food offered them, generally are well fed and strong physically.

With the development of world commerce the ocean has had a unifying influence, has brought together all nations and thus has carried the improvements and inventions of each locality to every other locality. By furnishing a cheap and quick means of transportation the water has made man a cosmopolitan being. With the discovery of America European civilization was brought to America and the contributions that America had to make, such as the potato, maize, and the wealth of her mines, fisheries, and later her farms, were added to what Europe already had. So important to man has been the navigation of the sea that in recent years the neutrality of the seas has been accepted as a principle of international law.

Islands show a much greater variety of influences than coasts, some of which are favorable, resulting from the location of the islands in the track of commerce, as Japan, Hawaii, and the Philippines, and some of which, resulting from the remoteness of the islands, are unfavorable. Islanders generally resemble the people of the countries from which they come, sometimes improving upon them, as formerly in Crete, and sometimes falling backward. Islands were settled in many cases as places of refuge. With the development of transportation by water islands have lost their security and have been placed at a decided disadvantage. Because of their limited area their ability to defend themselves is generally small and they fall easy victims to conquest. Athens had little trouble in holding in subjection the members of the Delian League; and Crete has since the beginning of history, almost, been subject to some nation. Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily have been similarly held. All the islands of the East Indies are

controlled by European powers, except the Philippines, and they were until recently. Nearly all the islands of the West Indies have been similarly held; all would have been but for the United States. The islands of the Pacific are owned by the different powers of the world; in fact, Japan is the only really independent island nation. Islands, especially those that are barren and inhospitable, are often used as prisons for convicts and political offenders: Sakhalin, New Caledonia, St. Helen, Elbe, and Devil's Island being among the most noted of these. They are also used for city prisons; Blackwell's Island and Deer Island thus serving for New York and Boston respectively.

Islands have often been places of survival of primitive peoples, customs and habits. In fact after an island has been left outside of the track of progress it generally remains stationary while the rest of the world advances. Islands have been the homes of some of the most primitive races that we have discovered; illustrations are Ceylon, Borneo, Madagascar, and New Zealand.

Islands generally are the tops of mountains sticking out of the ocean and because of this are often barren and unproductive; quite frequently it is a problem for the inhabitants to live. Often artificial checks to population have been resorted to, such as infanticide, limitation of children thru mutilation, late marriages and even cannibalism. On the other hand, the supply of fish often allows a large population; sometimes when the living is hard, greater ingenuity is developed thereby. Since as a rule island climates are favorable, islands often become resorts. The pleasant climate frequently makes people care-free in disposition, and because they meet many strangers in the way of commerce, and trade, if the islands are in the trade routes, they become hospitable. This is especially true if the islanders themselves learn to travel about.

Influences of Mountain Environment. — The effect of mountains as barriers we have already suggested, both as to how they shut people up within their own ranges and keep others out—results of equal importance. Mountains prevent not only expansion and invasion but also progress, shutting out new ideas, improvements and inventions. They hinder the inhabitants from coming into contact with others and tend to create a spirit of suspicion in regard to strangers. At the same time, however, a spirit of hardihood and independence

is developed. Mountain people always become fierce fighters and are seldom conquered, and if so, at deadly expense. Mountain states are rather numerous, such as Switzerland, Montenegro, Abyssinia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. Altho small and partly barbarian these otherwise insignificant states have nevertheless maintained their independence. Life is often hard and consequently primitive conditions frequently prevail, like those found in Tibet, Abyssinia, and Montenegro. As suggested before they become places of refuge for the oppressed; in fact, the Caucasus is said to be the grave of races, nations, religions, customs, habits and ideals. The Roumanians have saved themselves a number of times by retiring into the Carpathians and letting the invaders pass on. The mountains have also been places of refuge for criminals and the lawless classes; frequently we find mountaineers with marauding tendencies, being addicted to cattle stealing, brigandage, and plundering in general; the Afghans, Kurds, and the Scottish Highlanders have been noted for this. They also furnish mercenary soldiers; the Swiss were so employed thruout Europe for a long period of time. Because of a lack of occupations the mountain laborers often descend into the valleys; the Wallachs, Tyrolians, and other mountain inhabitants of the Carpathians and Alps send thousands into the valleys each year to help in the planting and harvesting of the crops. Mountain peoples are thus characterized by their independence, individualism, frugality, courage, and strong will, and they furnish the world sturdy races. They also are imaginative and religious, the grandeur of the hills impressing them in much the same way as the limitless plains do the dwellers therein.

Influence of Plains, Steppes, and Deserts. — The influence of plains is of two kinds resulting from the fact that plains are of two classes—the plains which are productive, and those which are unproductive and barren. The former, as we have seen, produce pastoral and agricultural occupations, and allow political expansion and the building up of vast empires. The influences that encourage uniformity of government and occupation also are effective in all forms of activity. The plains swallow up nationalities, languages and customs; they tend always to produce uniformity. There is no chance for separation, no opportunity for individualism. Russia, for example has greater uniformity than almost any other great nation.

The inhabitants of the deserts and barren wastes, such as are found in the Sahara, in Arabia, and in Mongolia, are generally pastoral or commercial by occupation, but they lack uniformity. They go in bands, and are often, in fact, usually are, addicted to marauding and to sweeping down upon their more prosperous neighbors to carry off their wealth. Their mobility is great; it is often compulsory, because of scarcity of provisions. Many are compelled to migrate with the seasons, going to the hills during the hot season to find pasturage and back to the plains during the brief wet season. This compulsory roaming makes them nomadic, and they easily form bands for plundering. Their life being hard they are fearless, ingenious, and watchful, and they make excellent fighters; no better cavalry can be found anywhere than the Russian Cossacks. Plainsmen seldom unite in large armies; the Mohammedan conquest was an exceptional occurrence, made possible because of religious fanaticism. As a rule when they do conquer any region they seldom interfere with the life of the common people, supplanting only the ruling class, as the Manchus did in China and as the Shepherd Kings did in Egypt. On the other hand these people are hard to conquer because of the ease of retreat and the difficulty of pursuit. Hence the inhabitants of these regions of the world have nearly always maintained their independence in spite of powerful neighbors. The Arabs have enjoyed practical independence; the same is true of the Mongols and the inhabitants of northern Africa. Because of scant diet such plainsmen are compelled to be frugal and are as a rule active, sinewy, energetic people. They are proud, even to the point of obstinacy, because of their independent, roaming life.

These people act as middlemen for the more productive regions near them; the goods formerly were brought from the East to Europe by caravans of these wanderers of the desert, this method is used in northern Africa today. In connection with this trade they have developed desert markets or trading centers; Timbucktoo in Africa and Bagdad and Damascus in Asia Minor formerly were famed as commercial centers. In this trade they have trafficked in slaves, thus helping to keep alive this institution. But probably the greatest contribution of these peoples towards civilization has been the religious concepts they formed and promulgated. In history they have played an erratic but important role.

Influence of Climate. — The influence of climate has been both physiological and psychological. It has fixed limits to human habitation, determined the productivity of the soil, and affected to some extent man's whole life. It has affected him both directly and indirectly; directly by affecting him physically, pinching him with cold and melting him with heat; indirectly by determining his food supply, both vegetable and animal. The amount of rainfall determines the productiveness of the soil; for it is only in the last few years that man has been able to farm on a large scale without rain, altho irrigation as a means of supplying water is very ancient. Climate has compelled man to migrate, a bad climate forcing him to leave and a good climate tempting him to come. It has affected human institutions, influencing the family by causing early marriages, many children, and little regard for life in warm climates, and late marriages and few children in colder ones. It has affected government, despotism existing more often in warm, unhealthful climates and democracy in cool, temperate zones. Religion has been poorly developed in the tropics largely because of the depressing climate and the lack of incentive for mental exertion. Slavery, as we have noticed, has been fostered in climates where work is irksome. In warm climates we find as a rule greater extremes of wealth and poverty, wages being poor because of the low cost of labor, and at times because of competition with slave labor. Moreover a warm climate especially if continuous, has a detrimental effect, deadening the nerves; in fact, the individual or the race going to the tropics or to a warm, moist climate rapidly deteriorates. People in these regions become easy going, hot-headed, yet imaginative and artistic, while those in colder climates are calmer, more thoughtful, and provident. Temperate zones offer a greater variety of climate, it being cold in winter and warm in summer, thus making possible a larger variety of occupations and furnishing a greater stimulation for the nerves. For this reason we find the nations located in the temperate zones more energetic, ambitious, and successful; as a result the north temperate zone is known as the cradle of civilization. Extreme cold produces much the same result as extreme warmth in that it becomes monotonous and hence has a deadening effect. Not only the history but also the location and the size of the present nations of the world partly result from geographic conditions. Nature sets their boundaries, determines to a great extent their economic

activity, influences their institutions and daily life and helps mold their character and determines their chances of success in the advance of civilization. Yet we must not go to the extreme by saying that geography is everything; it is only one of the factors to be considered in studying the life of man. It may be very important but it is not all by any means; other contributing forces must be considered, such as heredity and human instincts; in fact, economic, biological, and psychological factors are fully as important as geographic.

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CHAPTER III

INCREASE OF POPULATION

We do not know just where, when and how population began. We know that man originated somewhere in or near what is now Asia Minor, but we probably shall never be able to put our finger on the exact place; all we know is that our earliest records point to his first appearance in that region. As to time we are more in doubt; some insist that it was only a few thousand years ago, while others estimate that it has been millions of years since man first came to earth. In all probability the age of man is somewhere between one hundred thousand and a million years; at any rate that estimate is as good a guess as we are able to make. Human history, or the record of civilized man, goes back only six thousand years, but that is a very short time in comparison with the life of man before he reached the stage of civilization. As to how man originated we are even more uncertain than we are in regard to when or where; whether we have all descended from a single pair, from many pairs, or from some group larger than a pair we do not know; the Bible itself is not clear in regard to this—at least our interpretation of the Bible does not clear up the matter. The theory of polygenesis (several origins for man) is not now generally held; in fact all evidence points toward a single place of origin. Many students of the subject have attempted to work out a definite theory of evolution for man, showing the different steps by which he has evolved from some extinct form of the anthropoid ape; but the best of these attempts have been obliged to bridge great gaps and to weave in as much theory and supposition as fact, and every one of them is in some respects unsatisfactory. Such a study is outside of the realm of this work, in fact outside the real field of sociology, belonging to her sister science anthropology. At any rate man began either with a single pair or with a very small group at the most, and has rapidly increased in number. The present indications are that he has by no means stopped

or even seriously checked his rate of increase, except in a few countries. In fact, man has increased in number much more rapidly since he has become civilized than before. Living has become easier and life more certain. The dangers have decreased while the means of subsistence have increased. Improvements and inventions have allowed more people to live in a unit of space than formerly. Man's increase at first was slow and many tribes and even races perished entirely; for long periods of time he was able to do little more than hold his own. The races given by nature an advantage over other races have increased. The pressure of population is keenly felt in some countries, especially China, India, Japan and Italy. This is not a new phenomenon; on the contrary it is older than civilization itself. Pressure of population was the cause of man's scattering out over the earth; but now that all the earth has been explored and populated, and all the best land taken, we often wonder if a time will come when the population will be too great for the earth to support. This is not causing people to worry so much now as it did one hundred years ago, for in some countries the pressure is not so great as it was then because relief has been given by increase in production and improvement in commerce.

The Malthusian Theory of Population.—Over one hundred years ago Malthus published his famous work *Essay on Population*, which went thru several editions and has been handed down since that time as a classic; in this book Malthus declared that population tended to increase faster than the means of subsistence. At first he tried to prove this by showing that the means of subsistence increased in arithmetical proportion, while population increased in geometrical proportion; he later abandoned such attempts at demonstration of the theory. This theory has been under discussion since that time, many advocating it, many opposing it and others merely qualifying it. Malthus went on to point out that there were two methods of checking or holding population down to the food supply; (1) positive, as war, famine, disease, vice, and poverty, and (2) negative or artificial checks, like late marriages, celibacy, and control of the birth rate. He attempted to prove that if we did not exercise the latter, the former would operate. Malthus believed that poverty was the direct result of this increase of population as it created a surplus of workers, who kept wages down; he went so far

as to posit this as the chief cause of all misery and wretchedness. In his conclusion we cannot of course agree; indeed his general theory is not proved by modern conditions. The principle may have worked among primitive peoples and may be true when applied to a stationary, unprogressive population, but it does not apply to modern society. Malthus was unable to foresee the inventions and discoveries of modern times which have increased the food supply, like reapers, binders, plows, corn planters, and potato diggers, modern methods of preserving and canning vegetables and fruits, and intensive methods of agriculture. Progress in these things has more than kept pace with the increase in population, for in reality a constantly decreasing percentage of our population has been able to produce the world's food supply. Then, too, Malthus did not take into consideration the ability of man to co-operate to greater advantage as population became denser. As population has increased man has been able to make more economical divisions of labor, using more efficient methods of applying labor, and thru new inventions and discoveries bring about greater means of production. Thus man is constantly able to produce more in shorter periods of time and the working day for the laboring man is steadily being shortened thruout the entire world, especially in the more advanced and thickly populated countries. So as a result Malthus' theory is of little value to us altho he did a great work and contributed much to science. Other theories of population have been postulated, among which is that of Dumont, the French economist and sociologist, who suggests that society is like a sponge in that it will allow as large a population as industry can care for; that if a country has opportunities, like those of Argentine, Canada, or Alaska, the population will increase, but if there are no opportunities the population will not increase. Altho history does not always prove this theory it is very interesting and somewhat plausible. A new country with opportunities will attract immigration, but the birth rate in that country may not increase; it often does not. Therefore it is very difficult to formulate any hard and fast theory of population. One thing we do know is that population is steadily increasing, and for the past hundred years, at least, means of subsistence have more than kept pace with this increase. While we can expect the population of the earth steadily to become denser there is as yet under ordinary circumstances no immediate danger of starvation—at least not in the next few decades.

Increase in Population of Some of the Leading Modern Nations. — The following table will show how some of the modern nations have increased in population.¹

<i>Country—</i>	<i>% Increase 1800-1900</i>	<i>Country—</i>	<i>% Increase 1800-1900</i>
United States -----	1,331.6	Sweden -----	118.6
Belgium -----	204.3	Italy -----	88.4
Denmark -----	163.4	Portugal -----	85.1
United Kingdom -----	155.9	Switzerland -----	84.1
Norway -----	154.6	Austria -----	81.6
Germany -----	143.2	Spain -----	75.6
Holland -----	143.1	France -----	42.5

From these figures it will be seen at a glance that the nations that have shown the greatest increase are the ones which are prosperous or are well located; yet we can derive no universal law from these data for France has been a very prosperous nation, she enjoys a splendid form of government, and the common people are happy. Yet France, even before the war was hardly holding her own in population.

A population can increase by a surplus of births over deaths and by immigration, but a high birth does not necessarily mean an increase in population; in fact some of the countries which are at the top of the list given above have a birth rate low in comparison with that of many which are near the foot, as we may see by the following table:

BIRTH AND DEATH RATES PER 1000 TOTAL POPULATION, 1900²

<i>Country</i>	<i>Birth Rate</i>	<i>Death Rate</i>	<i>Excess Births Over Death</i>
Norway -----	30.7	15.8	14.3
Germany -----	35.6	22.1	13.5
Denmark -----	29.8	16.9	12.9
Hungary -----	39.3	26.9	12.4
Scotland -----	29.6	18.5	11.1
England and Wales -----	28.7	18.2	10.5
Sweden -----	26.9	16.8	10.1
United Kingdom -----	28.2	18.4	9.8
Belgium -----	28.9	19.3	9.6
Italy -----	32.9	23.7	9.2
Spain -----	34.4	29.4	5.0
Ireland -----	22.7	19.6	3.1
France -----	21.4	21.9	— .5
Switzerland -----	---	19.3	---

¹*A Century of Population in the United States, 1790-1900*, by Census Bureau, p. 85.

²Bailey, *Modern Social Conditions*, pp. 97 and 214.

So when it comes to the question of natural increase, it is the final product or excess of births over deaths that must be considered. Then, too, for each individual country other factors have to be considered particularly whether there is emigration or immigration.

In the United States only a few states have kept vital records; so we have no data to give. Even if there were figures for the United States comparison between our country and Europe would not be fair, for we have received immigrants, the majority of whom have been in the prime of life and Europe has sent them to us. On the other hand many of these immigrants have returned to Europe to die in their native lands.

If we compare the birth rates of these same countries with their birth rates of several decades ago we notice an almost universal decline, especially with the more advanced nations; in regard to the death rate we find a still greater decline. Therefore the increase in population is the result, not of an increasing birth rate, but of this decline in the death rate, which is brot about by better sanitation, increased medical knowledge—especially among the masses, prevention of industrial accidents, prevention of disease thru quarantine, vaccination and anti-toxins, and the discovery of cures of diseases. The establishment of bureaus of medical research; social insurance systems; visiting nurses; proper building codes; the dissemination of health information; shorter hours; more healthful working conditions; the cleaning up of streets and alleys; food inspection—these and a thousand other factors have helped to lower the death rate; and we can look for still greater progress in this line. As sanitation and hygiene increase the death rate goes down.

We note also that the industrial nations of the world are increasing in population because they furnish work for their people and hence check emigration as well as tempt immigration. The industrial development of the United States is largely, if not almost wholly, responsible for the modern immigration to this country. After Germany developed industrially she kept her people at home; the same is true of Norway and Sweden.

The recent World War has shaken up all the statistics of the different countries of Europe, so almost impossible to make any predictions as to the future.

The Increase of Population in the United States. —

In order to discuss this subject properly we must take a glance at the population statistics as given by the United States Census, which are as follows for the United States (continental):

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>% Inc.</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>% Inc.</i>
1790	3,929,214	---	1860	31,443,321	35.6
1800	5,308,483	25.1	1870	38,558,371	26.6
1810	7,239,881	36.4	1880	50,155,783	26.0
1820	9,638,453	33.1	1890	62,947,714	24.9
1830	12,866,020	33.5	1900	75,994,575	20.7
1840	17,069,453	32.7	1910	91,972,266	21.0
1850	23,191,876	35.9	1920	-----	---

These figures show that there has been a steady decrease in the percentage of increase in the population in the United States, that while the increase is still healthy it is by no means so rapid as formerly. This is not owing to immigration, because since 1880 we have received the majority of our immigrants; in fact in our early history when the increase was the most rapid we were receiving very few immigrants. During the decades when we were receiving the most immigrants we increased in population the least. In regard to this some authorities go so far as to declare that immigration has checked instead of increased our population. On the face of it it seems plausible, but if we examined all the facts we probably should not find this statement true. Because accurate records of births and deaths are kept in only a few of the American states we are not able to obtain statistics which are worth quoting. In Massachusetts the birth rate among foreign born has been about three times that of the native born. But these statistics are misleading, for the foreign born do not come here as a rule till they reach the prime of life or at least the child-bearing age; then, too, many return to Europe after they have passed that period; so of course the foreign born have a much higher birth rate. Consequently the death rate of native born is higher than that of foreign born for the same state, altho this difference is slight. But Massachusetts is not an average state; conditions are peculiar in that the most vigorous part of the native population have moved westward, especially the men, thus leaving the less energetic at home and in addition causing an unequal distribution of the sexes. Then too the immigrant class is cooped

up to a great extent in the factory towns like Fall River, New Bedford and Lawrence under very bad conditions, inviting thereby low standards of living and high birth rates. On the other hand prices are high and wages low in New England; so the native with his high ideals is compelled to postpone marriage and keep down the number of children if he wishes to uphold his standard of living. Since we have abnormal conditions in practically all the registration states¹ of the United States, we are not able to make accurate use of any statistics from them, Michigan being practically the only normal state among them. From the most of the other states we have a heavy emigration of natives and into them an immigration of foreign born.

The average size of the family has decreased in the United States, being 5.6 in 1850, 5.3 in 1860, 5.1 in 1870, 5 in 1880, 4.9 in 1890, 4.7 in 1900, and 4.5 in 1910. Among the native whites the decline has been still greater, and in some sections of New England they have even lost, the average number being in some places even below 4. This decrease has occasioned some people much alarm. The causes for the decrease in birth rate are many, some of the most prominent being the following:

1. *The Constantly Advancing Standard of Living.*—People are demanding more; things which they formerly looked upon as luxuries they now consider necessities, such as bath rooms, telephones, and electric lights. Finer clothing, a greater variety of food, better houses, and more comforts are demanded; rather than sacrifice these things, people limit the number of children. Then, too, greater stress is now put upon careful rearing children and giving them proper advantages, than upon bringing them into the world. Instead of being alarming, this cause seems to be elevating and conducive to a higher civilization.

2. *The Constantly Increasing Cost of Living.*—The increase in prices, especially of food stuffs, rent, and clothing, resulting from the comparative decrease of land for producing these commodities and the increasing demand for them is another cause of small families. Wages have also risen, but it is an economic fact that wages are slower to advance than prices. As we shall see when consider immigration, wages have been kept down by the competition of the immigrant

¹Conn., D. C., Me., Mass., Mich., N. H., N. J., R. I., and Vermont.

with the native laborer. This cause, while regrettable, is hard to prevent. The World War has recently complicated this situation still more by effecting an abnormal increase in prices, as a result of the tremendous demand. In some industries this increase has been more than offset by corresponding increases in wages. In other lines of work it has not been so offset.

3. *Selfishness or the Refusal to Have Children.*—This may result from an unwillingness to sacrifice for them, unwillingness to undergo the discomfort and pain of bringing them into the world, or the unwillingness to substitute for the pleasures enjoyed the unknown comforts of parenthood. This is especially true of the rich, who are loath to give up participation in society and to spare the time which parenthood requires. The following table by Bertillion, giving the number of births per thousand among the various economic classes of the four largest European cities¹, illustrates the well known fact that the poor have more children than the rich. Thus it shows that the better the economic condition the fewer the children.

BIRTHS PER 1,000 WOMEN 15-50 YEARS OF AGE

	<i>Paris</i>	<i>Berlin</i>	<i>Vienna</i>	<i>London</i>
Very poor -----	108	157	200	147
Poor -----	95	129	104	140
Comfortable -----	72	114	155	107
Very Comfortable -----	65	96	153	107
Rich -----	53	63	107	87
Very Rich -----	34	47	71	63
TOTAL-----	80	102	153	109

In short the very poor have about three times as many children as the very rich. As the economic prosperity of a country increases we shall naturally expect to find a decline in the birth rate. This is a condition much to be deplored for it seems unfortunate that those who can afford to have many children will not have them and those who are not able to support them have the large families.

4. *Education, That Is, Higher Education.*—With the increase in culture and the rise in civilization, more time is spent in preparation for one's life work. If one is fitting himself for a professional calling, he must spend four years

¹Quoted by Bailey, *Modern Social Conditions*, p. 110.

in high school, and if he takes his profession seriously, four years in college, and three or four years in professional school. If he enters high school at the age of fourteen and goes continuously (which does not always happen), he is at least twenty-five upon the completion of this preparation; then he must spend a year and often several before he is able to earn enuf or to attain sufficient professional success to warrant marriage. So he is close to thirty before he can marry at all. If he marries an educated woman she is nearly as old. This is especially true if during his school days he falls in love with a school mate and she waits till he has completed his preparation. It is only natural then that their family should be smaller than the family of the uneducated man who marries at twenty-one or two a girl of eighteen or nineteen. Education of women has had a greater effect upon the birth rate than education of men, for it has made woman less dependent upon marriage; she has become able to make her own way; and her education has caused her to be more discriminating in her choice of a husband. While this has tended to elevate man and has compelled him to live a cleaner and more wholesome life, it has restricted marriage. In the past woman was a drudge or an ornament, a kind of social barometer, you might say, reflecting man's economic position. If he was rich she did not have to work, but if he was poor she had to do so; she is more and more a partner. However society is not yet adjusted to this situation; because of these conditions woman hesitates more about marriage, and, once married, hesitates to settle back into woman's former position in the home; hence she is more loathe to begin raising a family or to have a large one.

5. *Vice*. — Unfortunately many who desire children cannot have them, and it is claimed that at least one-half of these cases are owing to immorality. Sexual diseases, as we shall see later when we take up the subject of immorality, make child-birth either dangerous or impossible. This is one of the leading reasons why the birth rate in France is no higher than it is, and also why so many of the rich in all countries do not have children. While comparatively few women have disease upon marriage, it is only a question of time until they are affected if the men they marry are diseased. Since some of the best authorities state that about three-fourths of the men in the United States, for illustration, become impure before marriage (generally with prostitutes who are afflicted

with disease), it is easy to see that vice is a very important cause of small families. Many one child families result from it, disease preventing further conception. We can expect this cause to operate less in the future, for as a problem the social evil is becoming rapidly less important; it is only a question of time until it will be either stamped out or reduced to a minimum. In old days when the bearing of children was impossible, the women were called "barren" and could be divorced. Now that we know the cause, we hear less of "barrenness". While some women cannot have children, far more could have them if their husbands had lived clean lives.

6. *Greater Knowledge among the Masses of Birth Control.* — This is coupled with the preceding causes. Formerly birth control was frowned upon as unsocial and branded as irreligious, and made illegal by statute. Public opinion is supporting these ideas and laws less and less. Heretofore churches thundered against birth control, but now they oppose it less, especially those churches which come into close contact with the poor. As people become educated they acquire a more accurate knowledge of the laws of reproduction; as a result fewer children are born. Whether for the best interests of our country or not, we can expect this tendency to increase as our country continues to grow in prosperity and enlightenment.

On the whole we can look for a constantly declining birth rate; but whether this ever reaches the point of race suicide is extremely doubtful.

Decrease in Death Rate. — Along with a decrease in birth rate we have noticed a steady decline in the death rate among civilized nations; the greater the advance in civilization, the greater the decrease. The steady increase in population is the result of the decrease in death rate. This decline is owing to many causes, the chief of which are probably the following:

1. *Increased Medical Knowledge.* — Medical science is constantly finding cures for diseases which formerly were considered incurable, *e.g.*, tuberculosis, yellow fever, spotted fever and cholera; it is making other diseases which were ranked as dangerous less often fatal, and in fact hardly serious at all; such is smallpox, which formerly considered a scourge, now is no more to be dreaded than a bad cold or lagrippe. Preventive means, in the shape of anti-toxins, are now used against such diseases as typhoid fever and diphtheria. The

heretofore unknown causes of many diseases which have existed for a long time, like the hook-worm disease and infantile paralysis, have been discovered. Better methods of treating the simpler or so-called "child diseases", such as measles, whooping cough, croup, etc., have been found and their fatality has been reduced. Medical science has not only greatly reduced the death rate but may also be expected to effect still greater improvement in this respect. Joined with these discoveries is the greater accessibility of these cures and treatments to the mass of our population thru better hospital facilities. With the erection of city hospitals and privately endowed institutions, practically no one need go without medical treatment when it is needed, even tho funds are lacking. Increased knowledge on the part of the public of the curability of disease and stricter requirements for entrance into the medical profession have contributed to the decrease in the death rate from disease. People do not fear hospitals as they once did, and they trust doctors more than formerly; so with the greater means at hand they make use in daily life of investigations and discoveries.

2. *Improved Sanitation and Hygiene.*— Practical knowledge of hygiene has been spread thru the country by instruction in our schools, special propagandas, popular magazines, public libraries, and other means of disseminating information. Visiting nurses are going around from house to house teaching the poor, especially the immigrant poor, how to live healthier, happier lives, prepare better food, and prevent germ infection. Our cities are enacting and a thing still more important, are enforcing laws in regard to sewerage and garbage disposal, street cleaning, food and milk inspection, pure water, handling of contagious diseases and other matters vital to public health. Because prevention is more important than cure this type of effort is even more important than the preceding one; similarly it is becoming more effective and thus can be depended upon for increasingly greater results in the future.

3. *Prevention of Industrial Accidents.*— Most of the European countries have adopted systems of accident insurance, compelling the employers to pay the expenses caused by accidents in their factories. This has compelled the employers to use the most modern devices for accident prevention. Many of the American states are doing the same; also many employers are putting in these improvements voluntarily. In the United States it has been found that about 35,000 workers

are killed and 500,000 maimed in industrial accidents, many of which are preventable. Shorter working hours are becoming customary and as a result there are fewer accidents. We as a nation are waking up to the fact that the loss of life because of industrial accidents is to a great extent unnecessary and are taking steps to prevent it.

4. *Decrease in Infant Mortality.*—During the first year the mortality rate is greatest, especially among the poor and ignorant classes and in those countries where the masses are uneducated and poverty-stricken. In Russia under normal times 27 per cent of all the babies died before the end of the first year, and even in the registration area in the United States 16.2 per cent die during this period. We are now beginning to realize the seriousness of this unnecessary loss of life and are attempting to prevent it by means of disease prevention, food inspection, and the spread of knowledge of hygiene.

5. *Prevention of War.*—Before the World War we had steadily reduced the loss of life by means of war till we were in high hopes of some time eliminating entirely this great means of the loss of life. The war upset all this. If the present League of Nations succeeds in doing all that its advocates expect of it, we can look for the time to come in the near future when this great cause of the loss of life will be reduced to a minimum. The world is sick of war and we can only hope that this league will succeed in doing all that its most ardent advocates predict of it.

On the whole, then, we may expect population to keep on increasing but at a less rapid rate than formerly; we may expect a constantly decreasing birth rate but a corresponding, but slightly less, decrease in the death rate. Many estimates have been made as to the population of the United States at stated dates in the future, say in the year 2000; they range from 200,000,000 to 400,000,000. Such predictions are inaccurate and worthless for conditions are constantly changing and the rate of increase is ever decreasing. If we continue to hold out fewer inducements to immigrants, we can expect immigration to cease after a time. If our prosperity should fail we might even experience much emigration and a possible decrease in population. Besides as we take up our natural resources and fill up the country and at the same time improve education and raise our standard of living, we may look for the rate of increase to fall off rapidly. Therefore the future

is too uncertain to admit of any serious prediction. The most that we can say is that if our present conditions continue to exist we are sure that the population will keep on steadily increasing. Likewise when the world recovers from the temporary setback caused by the World War, the world will continue to house and feed an ever growing, expanding family.

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CHAPTER IV

HUMAN MIGRATION

In our last chapter we remarked that man began his career upon the earth somewhere in or near what is now Asia Minor and from that region spread over the entire earth. The purpose of this chapter is to show why he migrated, how he did it, and what was the effect upon his development.

Man was forced to migrate because of lack of food supply. The increase in numbers made living more difficult and as a result some of the group had to leave their original home to seek new supplies of food. This caused the formation of bands which would start out upon their wanderings in search of new abodes. In all probability these bands consisted of those belonging to one family or those closely connected by ties of kinship or friendship. Whether they were the weaker groups which were driven out or were bands composed of energetic individuals who were discontented with their hard lot and desirous of more profitable fields, we do not know; in all probability both classes of people were represented. At any rate man formed into bands, so as to afford greater protection and to satisfy his innate craving for companionship, and started out upon journeys of conquest and exploration.

These bands naturally followed the paths of least resistance, going up or down river valleys, along the coast, around mountain ranges, or thru passes. When they came to places where the food supply was abundant they would either settle down permanently or remain till routed out by some stronger band or tempted to seek still more inviting sources of food supply. If stronger bands forced them out they simply continued their wanderings, unless they preferred to fight rather than to run; often, in that event, the weaker band was exterminated or forced into slavery by the stronger.

We have noticed that the richer river valleys like the Nile valley and the valley of the Tigris-Euphrates were the first to be settled and consequently the first to produce people of high order. Man has also moved along the paths of the best sources

of food supply, whether living was gained by direct appropriation of the gifts of nature, by fishing, by hunting, or later by the domestication of flocks and herds, with the aid of agriculture. In this way he spread out from Asia Minor in all directions, going eastward into what is now India, and then either around the Himalayas or thru the passes into the fertile territory of China, where he was stopped by the Pacific Ocean. Because in all probability Australia and the East Indies were at that time connected with Asia by strips of land or were separated only by narrow bodies of water, man was able to people the East Indies, Australia, New Zealand and most of the island archipelagos of the Southern Pacific. Further north man was forced or lured to cross the Bering Sea, either on the ice or by means of rafts, perhaps going from one to another of the Aleutian islands; thus he came to America. From Alaska it was an easy matter to spread over the two Americas. Going westward from the cradle of the human race, man migrated to Africa by way of the isthmus of Suez into the Nile valley and thence to the various parts of Africa, meeting with few land barriers, with the exception of the Sahara desert. Going northward he passed into Europe, either following the shores of the Mediterranean or going down the valley of the Danube, which has served as a highway for migrations into Europe. From southern Europe man wandered as far north as the climate would permit. Here he was driven backward at least once and possibly several times by changes in the climate which caused the glaciers to move southward, only to return again with successive resumptions of former climatic conditions. Europe was peopled also by migrations from Asia which moved in a more northerly track, coming by way of Siberia. Russia and the Balkans were thus settled by the Slavic race. From Europe migration crossed the Atlantic; first the Norse came by way of Iceland, later the Spanish by way of the Azores, and still later various European peoples directly across the Atlantic. This migration was preceded, however, by the one thru Alaska by a long period of time, probably many centuries. In this way man spread over the entire world. But he was not contented even then; he kept on wandering.

Motives for Migration. — The motive for early migration was necessity—the shortage of provisions or the fear of a stronger force. Afterwards other motives came in, particularly religion, political oppression, the desire to evade the

penalties of law, and economic reasons. Religious persecution was one of the leading motives for the settling up of America but it was effective as a motive long before that. It seems to be human nature for those holding one belief to try to compell others to accept the same belief and to drive out or exterminate those who differ. Many people have migrated therefore, for the sake of religious freedom. Rule, at first, was by means of the strong arm; those who dared to oppose were killed or driven out; thus there have always been those who were compelled to migrate for this reason. Banishment, either outside of the political boundaries, or to some definite place, such as a penal colony, has often been used as a means of punishment. Then wanderlust, the desire to keep moving, has always been a strong motive. Religious pilgrimages and the sending out of missionaries have added to migration. Slavery has dispersed peoples, the weaker being captured, sold as slaves, and scattered thruout the world; negro slavery furnishes perhaps the best example. Greece and Rome followed this as a regular custom, Rome selling her prisoners of war. Whenever a race was defeated and put to flight, it frequently scattered, sought safety as individuals, and hence was unable to unite later.

Probably the greatest motive for migration today is the economic one, the seeking for opportunities to obtain a greater return for one's labor. This is the motive prompting the bulk of our recent immigrants to come to America; it is behind the majority of human wanderings today. The lure of gold and the prospect of riches cause man to go to the most inaccessible regions; to endure the tortures of extreme cold or heat; to risk the dangers of disease and of wild beasts; to endure thirst; frost-bite, drenching rains, and all manner of personal discomforts; to leave friends and relatives and put up with loneliness and privation. Commerce has been fostered by practically all nations; colonies were sent out by Phœnecia, Greece, and Carthage for this purpose, and later by France, England, Holland, and Germany. In fact the trader has nearly always preceded the soldier and settler, these being prompted to follow by the reports brot back by the traveler who wandered in search of trade.

Fugitive peoples have been driven into the inaccessible regions of the world, those places which offered a chance to escape pursuit or detection. Ripley calls the Caucasus the "grave of peoples, languages, customs, and physical types."

In these inaccessible places these peoples degenerate because of the lack of contact with others; then too they were originally often inefficient, else they would not have become fugitive peoples. Isolation can only add to this inefficiency.

With primitive man migration was comparatively easy; he did not have to worry about selling his land or even moving his household furniture, because he did not have any. All that he had to do was to pick up and move to another place. So it was easy and natural to acquire the habit of wandering. He was not able to move as rapidly as modern man, for he had not only no express trains and steamships, but no roads, bridges, and at first no draft animals. Yet, in spite of the improvement in the means of travel, civilized man has greater trouble to move because of his numerous possessions; moreover he has less incentive for migration.

Primitive movements were not rapid; they were slow, leisurely driftings in which whole tribes or nations took part. At first these bands were held together by family ties, but as they grew often vast hordes were collected; such were the Slavic invasions of Europe. The westward migration of the Vandals is also a good illustration; they first came into contact with Rome when they struck one of the Roman provinces on the Danube. Here they settled for some time, then they moved on westward, then southward into Spain, and finally across the Straits of Gibraltar into northern Africa, taking about two hundred years for this whole movement. Later migrations generally took the form of colonization fostered by the parent country. Now migration is an individual matter, altho many individuals go together, frequently with the encouragement of their governments.

Westward Movement of Civilization.—While civilization for a while moved eastward, passing from Asia Minor to India and China, and, while first came to America by way of the Pacific, we find that on the whole civilization has had a westward expansion, passing from Babylon, Assyria, and Persia to Greece; from Greece to Rome and from Rome to France, Spain and England; then from these countries to America; and now bidding fair to pass back into Asia—to Japan and China. Not only civilization but also world power seems to follow this path. Civilization in moving westward has done so along the north temperate zone; because of this the north temperate zone is known as “the track of civilization”. In our next chapter, on immigration as an American

problem, we shall notice that it has been and is simply a part of this westward movement of races seeking opportunities for improvements, particularly religious and political freedom, and economic betterment.

During the past few years Japan has made wonderful strides in culture and civilization; by developing a strong army and navy and by assuming a strong aggressive attitude she now commands a place of prominence in the family of nations. Her power as a fighting nation was not recognized until she so quickly and skilfully defeated the great Russian Empire in the Russo-Japanese War. Since that time she has commanded the respect of other nations, alliances with her being eagerly sought.

Japan has been crowded for territory to accommodate her ever increasing population and during the past few years has looked with envious eyes upon the sleeping giant at her west but before the recent war she was not able to make much use of her neighbor. But while the war was taking all the time and attention of the other nations that had an interest in China, Japan has been able to push her interests. Judging from present indications it will only be a question of time till she builds up a vast power in the East, either in co-operation with or at the expense of China.

China, however, is waking up; she is throwing off the shackles of inertia and the dead weight of her past, and is adopting modern methods of education, industry, and government. She has now become a republic and is welcoming occidental ideas, inventions, and civilization. Whether she will be able to build up a powerful military and naval power, like that of her neighbor Japan, is a question. But there is no doubt that the East is soon to play an important, if not a dominating, role in the history of the world. Japan by means of a "Monroe Doctrine" of her own is attempting to reap all the benefit from the awakening, both commercially and politically; she may as a result assume the leadership in Eastern politics. But, whatever the outcome of this controversy, the Yellow race must be reckoned with in the future in the shaping of world policies.


Then in addition to this, with her unlimited resources and endless opportunities, Russia, especially Siberia, is the land with a future which defies prediction. She has now thrown off the handicap of a reactionary government—apparently at present for a still more handicapping reign of Bolshevism—

and when she is able to establish a strong democratic government out of the present chaos, she is bound to prosper and to progress. The common people, instead of being held down in ignorance, will be encouraged and a higher civilization will result. It will take centuries to achieve a position of intellectual leadership, but political leadership is possible long before that.

While the recent World War, horrible and disastrous as it was, did not sound the death-knell of European civilization, as seemed possible not long ago, it has set Europe back decades in human progress and it will probably take Europe a century or more to fully recover from all its effects. But the present indication is that out of the ruins there may emerge a structure grander than the one destroyed.

We in America cannot bear to think that our nation, sharing the fate of Greece and Rome, may in time fall into oblivion. Some predict that we are fast rushing towards destruction. At present we are mounting high on the structure of development and progress. But we may fall by reason of too great prosperity, especially with the wealth and world power which the World War has brot to us. We may even in the course of a few centuries pass on the leadership to Asia—not as a permanent possession, but perhaps a possession to be kept for a time, and then to be returned by Asia to Europe. In this way civilization may pass around the world and a second time come to America. This is not given as a prophesy, but merely as a suggestion of a possible continuation of the westward movement of civilization, which has been the condition in the past. To the student of world politics this seems not only a possibility but a probability. But the future has too much in store and is too uncertain to allow any sort of definite prediction.

However as different nations and countries rise and progress in civilization, new opportunities are opened; thither man migrates. These opportunities may be religious, political, economic, physical, or esthetic, but they draw people from countries which offer less chance of development. Thus man is constantly migrating and society is ceaselessly in motion. In our next chapter we shall see how this migration has affected our own country.



CHAPTER V

IMMIGRATION

American Immigration a Part of the Movement of Races. — The immigration problem as presented to the people of the United States is merely a specific illustration of the movement of races previously discussed. It is perhaps brought more forcibly to our attention than other illustrations because of the rapidity of its development. We are all immigrants. It is merely a question of time—a matter of the date of arrival. Whether our ancestors came in 1700, helped in the development of the colonies, fought the Indians, and joined in the struggle for independence; whether they came in the rush from Ireland in the 40's, bringing their entire possessions wrapped up in a bandana handkerchief, or whether we ourselves landed at Ellis Island—it is only a matter of a few generations. The immigration problem in America has had, however, one aspect which differs considerably from the general run of migration. Those of ancient times usually consisted in the migration of a whole tribe or of a considerable portion of it to one particular region or in one certain direction. America, in a singular manner, seems to have been a magnet which has drawn human beings from all directions, from all lands; from the rugged hills of Norway, the sunny-slopes of Italy, the steppes of Russia, the banks of the Danube, and the settled districts of England and Germany. It has attracted the Oriental as well as the Occidental; but in the main this migration to America has been in harmony with other migrations in being a westward movement. America has been the melting pot; into it the different cultures and civilizations of the earth have been indiscriminately thrown; they have been stirred up and fomented by the different interests at work in our country, and it is only a question of time till the mass cools off and we can see what the final product is. Perhaps it is also only a question of time until we in turn pour out our surplus population to less densely inhabited regions. If so, then the problem will be even more serious,

for it is only the hardiest, the sturdiest, and the most daring that migrate. We may then object to emigration much more strenuously than we do now to immigration.

Causes of Immigration.—The motives of migration to the United States have been much the same as the causes already discussed of migration to other parts of the world. The three leading motives have been religious, political, and economic. Coupled with these have been minor motives, such as the desire for adventure and for escape from military service or from punishment of crime. The early settlers of New England came largely to escape religious persecution and to be free to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. The same was true of the settlers of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Virginia, New York, and Delaware were colonized by England, Holland, and Sweden respectively in an attempt by each to build up political supremacy. Many immigrants have come to this country to escape political as well as religious persecution. This was especially true of the early German immigrant. The Carolinas and Georgia were settled mainly by convicts sent out from England for a double purpose—to get rid of the criminal class at home and to form a buffer state between Virginia and Spanish Florida. European countries made a practice for a long time, even after the Revolution, of sending their criminals here. To stop this was one of the problems confronting our nation in the early years of its history. But the chief cause of immigration in recent years has been economic—the desire for greater wealth, the ability to earn a larger wage, and the opportunity to enjoy more returns from their labor. This movement has been stimulated by advertising on the part of steamship companies, which profited from the immigration. Our recent immigrants have come from countries that are less prosperous than our own, countries where they were accustomed to low wages, high taxes, and a hard life in general. They heard of the high wages to be obtained in America and were attracted by them. It was the dollar which drew them. This is particularly true of the Italian, Greek, and Slavic races. The founders of the United States as a nation were primarily English, Scotch, and Welsh, with here and there a sprinkling of other nationalities, mostly the remnants of descendants of the colonies founded by other nations which tried to settle North America. The first immigrants were mostly of the same blood as the people who had helped to establish the

nation and were naturally welcomed to our shores in order to swell our scanty population, and thus make our country the more secure against foreign invasion and to aid in winning from the redman and the wild beasts the great unknown region west of the Alleghanies. But the number of these newcomers was small even as late as 1840; in fact it did not pass the 100,000 mark till 1842. In that year immigration took a jump, owing to the potato famine in Ireland and an unsuccessful insurrection in Germany. Since that time immigration to our shores has taken place in waves. Because these different waves have been largely made up of separate nationalities, one nation at a time furnishing the bulk of the immigrants, we shall take up by nationalities the matter of immigration.

Irish. — The Irish were the first to cause the dislike and resentment of those who had preceded them as immigrants. This feeling was the result of the following conditions: They were driven out of Ireland because of the failure of the potato crops, upon which Ireland had depended for a long time. Therefore they brot little wealth; in fact the majority of them brot their entire belongings wrapped up in bandana handkerchiefs. The clothes that they wore were exceedingly rough; their manners were uncouth. They spoke a dialect which made conversation with them almost impossible. Ireland had been under a system of burdensome and obnoxious taxation, by which the Irish farmer was taxed for every visible form of wealth. If he had stock he was taxed for it; hence came the temptation to keep the pig in the parlor, where the accessor would not be likely to find it. If he improved his property or wore decent clothes he was assumed to be prosperous and was taxed accordingly. Hence he got into the habit of concealing his wealth and looking as downtrodden and woe-begone as possible. This habit of course was brot over by the Irish immigrant. About this time the one hundred year leases given to the Scotch, when they settled the northern part of Ireland, began to run out. Altho these settlers had looked upon these leases as perpetual they were evicted from their homes; America was their only refuge. It offered them a new home, where they could carve out their own future. It was a place where land was either free or very cheap and where labor was in demand; so they migrated in large numbers from Ireland to America, where they have been known as Scotch-Irish.

These rough-looking, uncouth Irish came mostly to Massa-

chusetts. This made the contrast all the more marked for Boston and Cambridge, where the largest number of these Irish immigrants settled, prided themselves upon their culture and education. At first the Irishman, being short of funds, was glad to get any kind of work and was not in a position to haggle over the wage; he took any thing he could get and at a very low wage; but it was not long before he began to supplant the native New Englander in the mills and factories of New England. The manufacturers were quick to see that this uncouth Irishman had an unusually quick mind and readily adapted himself to new conditions, and so could easily take the place of the more expensive native. He was eager to work and quick to learn; so it was only a matter of a few years till he was very much in the majority in the factories. But he became acquainted with our conditions and demanded as high wages as the native and quickly began to adopt our customs. As a result the Irish immigrants have been assimilated with remarkable rapidity. Nor were they content merely to be quickly assimilated; they went on till they began to control. They obtained positions as bosses and foremen, and for these positions they showed remarkable ability. Then they drifted into politics, and today they are our political leaders. The Irish element has controlled Boston for years; it would be almost impossible now to elect a mayor who is not Irish by descent. In the same way the Irish have controlled Tammany in New York; in fact in all our large cities where there are a number of Irish, they have become a strong political factor; at times they have formed a dangerous element. Yet they have also exerted a good influence in politics; the majority of our presidents and statesmen in recent years have had Irish blood in their veins.

Since 1820 Ireland has poured one-half of her population into the United States, 4,000,000 coming as against 3,300,000 coming from Great Britain. The reason for this coming, as we have seen, has been largely, if not almost wholly, economic; yet they came to stay and few have returned. They looked upon America, when they came, as their future home. If the men came alone they quickly sent for their families or sweethearts to join them. In recent years the Irish have ceased to come, for the motives have vanished. Ireland is becoming prosperous with a change in the English policy of control. The future of Ireland is much more optimistic than that of England, for in the future England will depend to

a great extent upon Ireland for her food supply. So we cannot expect to receive many more Irish; in fact Irish immigration is a thing of the past. While the Irishman brot with him many undesirable traits, such as a fondness for whiskey and a weakness for committing petty crimes, he brot with him geniality, the ability to mingle, quickness of perception, and organizing ability; he has been a sturdy element in our population and has contributed a large share to the prosperity of this country. It is possibly our loss that Irish immigration has ceased.

German. — The motives that prompted the German to leave his home and to seek a new one were different from those which spurred on the Irish. The German sought liberty, a haven from religious and political persecution. Germany had been torn by many destructive wars, especially the Thirty Years War. It not only had been invaded by France under Napoleon, but had been laid waste by internal struggles. Germany was then made up of a number of independent or semi-independent principalities. These were jealous of each other and were constantly quarreling. Each levied its own set of duties, which brot about confusion and led to endless disputes. In addition there was a struggle between Catholic and Protestants. Every war was followed by relentless persecution and oppressive taxation. All these things, coupled with the oppression of the petty tyrants made life almost unbearable. So it is no wonder that when good reports would come of the freedom and prosperity in America thousands sought to escape the oppression at home by emigrating. Germany had been terribly overrun by invading armies, and many regions, especially the Palatine, were almost turned into deserts. Even if there had been no oppression and cruelty at home, it would have been bad enough from an economic standpoint to get started again.

The emigration became so great that the government became alarmed and took measures to stop it. Laws were passed, making emigration more difficult, but such measures were in vain. The Germans left for America, even if they were compelled to leave empty handed. Some even sold their services for periods of from three to seven years to pay for their passage. This rush led to many abuses. Baggage would often be left behind on the wharves in Bremen or Hamburg; ships were overcrowded, causing much suffering as well as sickness and disease. In fact many died on their way to America.

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The Germans fared no worse than others who came about this time but they happened to be caught in the rush. Their difficulties did not end upon arrival, for they were immediately set upon by sharpers and swindlers; being ignorant of our customs and language they were at the mercy of any who wished to impose upon them. Very often the railroads would leave their baggage in New York or at the point of arrival. The abuses became so bad that the United States government took steps to eliminate the greatest evils. Sale of services to pay passage was abolished in 1820; other abuses were later dealt with, such as overcrowding and poor accommodations. This immigration even under such conditions was not wholly bad, for it aided in the settling up of our frontier in a much more rapid manner than otherwise would have been possible. This was especially true of the German settlement of western Pennsylvania, which formed that element of our population known as "Pennsylvania Dutch". German immigration kept up in a steady stream, with the exception of the period of the Civil War, until the panic of 1873. After that it was largely diverted to other countries, especially South America, largely thru strenuous efforts of the German government, in order to build up commerce and trade with the mother country, also because Germany feared that she would lose control of her emigrants if they came to the United States. So in recent years we have received few Germans.

While the Irish drifted into our cities, the Germans went primarily to the country. They did not stop to overpopulate the farms of the eastern states but pushed to the frontier, going at first to western Pennsylvania and, later to Wisconsin, Minnesota, and other western states, and especially to Wisconsin, which was being opened up after the Black Hawk War of 1833. Of the 2,069,042 persons in Wisconsin in 1900, 709,969 were of German blood. Wisconsin was especially attractive because it offered cheap land (\$1.25 an acre) which was especially adapted to farming. The climate was good; taxes were low, for there was no heavy debt. Only one year of residence was required for voting. Then, too, Wisconsin wanted settlers and encouraged immigration, especially of Germans; to get them it advertised for immigrants and maintained an agency for a time in New York to help to direct them to Wisconsin. Minnesota offered equal or nearly equal opportunities and received a large share of the German immigration.

The Germans were not so easily assimilated as the Irish, being more stubborn in the giving up of their former habits and customs, especially their language. This was particularly true if they settled in communities—a method characteristic of the Germans. They liked their old customs and were loathe to give them up. For this reason they made substantial citizens when once assimilated, for when they did adopt our customs they selected our best ones. They brot in additional problems to our civilization, however, the most important of which was perhaps beer drinking. They built up breweries and were largely responsible for the great increase in the consumption of beer in the United States. Economically the Germans were very thrifty and prosperous. They were industrious and from an economic standpoint probably the most successful of all our immigrants. The low percentage of illiteracy among them upon arrival and their strong physique also helped make them a substantial element in our population. In the Civil War they enlisted in large numbers in the Union Army, altho they had been here but a short period of time. While the German in the past formed a sturdy element in our population, German immigration, at least in large numbers, is undoubtedly a thing of the past. While at first many may try to come our government will probably not permit their entering for some time. Then after that Germany will settle down and either furnish inducement to remain at home or take steps to prevent their leaving.

As soon as the United States began to play an important role in the World War by furnishing the Entente Allies with ammunition and supplies, this country became a special object of the German spy system. The large German element in our population furnished a splendid field not only for concealing spies sent over by Germany, but also for recruiting more spies and sympathizers. While unfortunately far too many of our citizens and residents of German birth or parentage supported this movement, probably the great majority of the Teutonic element in our population was perfectly loyal to this country. But enuf did support this movement, thus proving traitors to the country that gave them shelter and economic opportunity, that undoubtedly for a number of years to come we shall consider the German element in our population extremely undesirable—an attitude exactly opposite to the one held by us prior to the war. But we were not then aware of the German plan of world power thru conquest, with all its repug-

nant features of crushing weaker nations, violating treaties, and casting aside all the laws of humanity. So if an ostracism of the German should remain in this country for a long period after the war, it will be only one of the natural results of the revolting program of the Germanic imperial policy.

French. — We have received very few immigrants from France, especially in recent years. Early in our history some came because of religious persecution; but since the time when the United States became a refuge for the oppressed, France has improved religiously and politically. The era of Napoleon and the French revolution gave France liberty and the Frenchman has had no special reasons for leaving his country. France has been economically prosperous for many years. Those French that we have received have come to us by way of Canada, and will be discussed later. Those that have come directly from France have been generally highly skilled workers as professional waiters, and members of the professional class, especially instructors and singers. Whether now that the World War is over we shall receive a larger French immigration will depend upon how successfully France recovers from the effects of the war, whether she will be able to rebuild her ruined industries and regain her foreign trade and whether the burden of taxation can be borne successfully. In all probability, however, we will receive few immigrants from France in the future for she has no excess of population and will in all probability offer work for all her population at home for a long time to come.

Scandinavian. — Under this head are included those immigrants from Sweden and Norway, and also Denmark, for the Danes belong to the same racial stock. This migration began about 1820, and from 1821 till 1903 the total immigration from these countries amounted to 1,609,922. In 1882 it amounted to 105,326, or 13.3 per cent but in 1907 it had dropped to 40,965 or 3.9 per cent, and since then has continued to diminish. In 1903 the number was exceeded by only three countries, Germany, Ireland and England, but since then it has been passed by Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia. Formerly the Scandinavian immigration formed an important addition to our population, but now it has become a minor element in the immigration stream. Among the Scandinavians were many sailors, carpenters, painters, and shoemakers, but the majority were servants and laborers. They went to Minnesota, New York, Wisconsin, North and South

Dakota, Illinois, and Michigan, where they helped to settle up new parts of the country, especially Minnesota and the Dakotas. About half of the recent arrivals have been females, who have come to join relatives or friends or to enter domestic service. Scandinavians have brot with them on an average twenty-five dollars in money; the percentage of illiteracy is very small, being only .7 per cent, or practically nothing. Altho sullen and morose in disposition, they are steady and hard working. Because of their mentality and education they learn the English language easily and are quickly assimilated. They have taken an active interest in politics, generally on the side of good government. North Dakota was one of the first prohibition states and Wisconsin has very advanced industrial legislation. Not only have they sent their children to school, but they have fostered higher education. The growth of the University of Minnesota is an evidence of this. With the exception of petty misdemeanors the Scandinavians are free from crime and pauperism. On the whole the Swedes are ranked as superior to the Norwegians. Very few Danes come to this country now, owing to the increase in the past few years of the economic prosperity of Denmark thru the introduction of co-operative methods of agriculture and especially of marketing produce. Sweden is now passing from an-agricultural to an industrial nation, hence there is a scarcity of labor and wages are high. Her merchant marine has increased wonderfully because of her strategic natural location. These factors have tended to keep the Swedes at home the last few years. Then, too, the government disfavors emigration and endeavors to retard it. Norway is following Sweden somewhat in this direction. Moreover we do not offer such inducements to the Scandinavian as we formerly did; our cheap land is all gone, and there is competition with the Italian and the Slav, who have lower standards of living and are willing to underbid him. The Scandinavian has been a great help to this country. Coming from a country where life was one continuous struggle with nature, he was inured to hard work and had developed a strength of character, that was bound to bring him to the front. We can never expect, at least for some time to come, to receive many more of this class for since the war all three of these countries will for years be more prosperous than ever; they are not burdened with war debt and they do not have their industries crippled—except for the merchant marine tonnage which was sunk during

the war—or their population killed off, but are in a position to profit by the war thru the trade and commerce which is coming to them, to say nothing of the wealth that came to them during the war by selling supplies to the warring nations. So there will be no motive for migration.

Change in Immigration From Northern and Western to Southern and Eastern Europe.—The greatest change—and one which is to be regretted—has been in the nationality of our immigrants. We receive very few now from Ireland, England, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, instead our immigrants come from Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Greece, Turkey, and the Balkan states. The Italian and the Slav now predominate. The danger arises from differences in the customs, habits, education and standards of living. Because of its effect upon our social life, it is this change which has caused our recent alarm over immigration, and which has made the immigration problem a serious one. The inhabitant of northern Europe was accustomed to a civilization and standard of living which was not materially different from our own. He was educated—at least the percentage of illiteracy was very low; the inhabitant of Italy and Austria-Hungary, as a result of generations of oppression and economic distress, is uneducated, and accustomed to different ideas of life. This change in the source of immigration to the United States is shown by the examination of the statistics for the years 1882 and 1907, both years of maximum immigration.¹

<i>Country—</i>	<i>1882 Immigrants.</i>	<i>Percentage of Immigrants</i>
Great Britain and Ireland.....	179,423	23.8%
Germany	250,630	31.7
Scandinavia	105,326	13.3
Netherlands, France and Switzerland...	27,795	3.5
Total northern and western Europe..		71.3%
Italy	32,159	4.1
Austria-Hungary	29,150	3.7
Russia, Balkans, etc.....	22,010	2.7
Total, southern and eastern Europe..		10.5
All other countries	142,499	18.2
Total	788,992	100. %

¹Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, 1913 ed., pp. 203-4.

<i>Country—</i>	<i>1907 Immigrants.</i>	<i>Percentage of Immigrants.</i>
Great Britain and Ireland.....	113,567	8.8%
Scandinavia	49,965	3.9
Germany	37,807	2.9
Netherlands, France and Switzerland....	26,512	2.1
Total, northern and western Europe.		17.7%
Austria-Hungary	338,452	26.3
Italy	285,731	22.2
Russia	258,943	20.1
Greece, Serbia, Roumania, etc.....	88,482	6.9
Total, southern and eastern Europe.		75.5
All other countries.....	85,890	6.8
Total	1,285,349	100. %

If we examine the immigration statistics for the year ending June 30, 1914—just before the World War began—we find that the figures correspond to those of 1907.

IMMIGRATION 1914

<i>Country—</i>	<i>Number Immigrants</i>	<i>Per Ct. of Total</i>
Great Britain and Ireland.....	73,417	6. %
Scandinavia	29,391	2.4
Germany	35,734	2.9
Netherlands, France, Switzerland, etc....	25,591	2.
Total northern and western Europe.		13.3%
Austria-Hungary	278,152	22.8
Italy	283,738	23.3
Russia	255,660	20.9
Greece, Serbia, Roumania, etc.....	57,252	4.7
Total, southern and western Europe		71.7%
Asia	34,273	2.8
All other countries	145,272	11.9
Total	1,218,480	100. %

We have already considered the countries from which we formerly received the bulk of our immigrants and have seen that we must not expect a return of that class because we no longer hold out inducements sufficient to tempt them to come. Now let us find out why we attracted the peoples of Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia and similar countries: In order to do this we must study the economic and social conditions in those countries. Such a study will show why their emigrants have not made the most desirable additions to our country, or at least why they have not been wanted.

Italian. — First we must distinguish between the northern and southern Italian. Northern Italy is mostly agricultural,

altho the soil is not rich, except in the river valleys; the people have a hard struggle to make a living but this very struggle has given them a hardiness and strength of character that makes them desirable citizens when they come to the United States. It is much the same with them as with the Norwegian and Swede, altho the racial stock is of course different. Southern Italy is, however, not suited for agriculture. Because the forests have been nearly all cut off there is little rainfall. The hills are steep and the streams short and rapid; so the soil has been washed away by floods and land-slides. The country is also very unhealthful, malaria being especially prevalent, and because of this the people live on the hill-tops and so often have to go long distances to their work. All these things put together make farming unprofitable, and the emigrants from this district less valuable as citizens than their northern neighbors.

The land system of Italy is a great handicap to the economic prosperity of the country. Most of the land is held by large estates; a considerable amount is held by the church. The government has attempted, to some extent, to effect a more equal distribution by selling land in small tracts, but being pressed for money it has sold on hard terms, giving especially large discounts for cash; but as the poor have no cash they cannot benefit by the discount; so it does them little good. The laws of inheritance are such as to compel, upon the death of the owner, the breaking up of his estate into small parts. These are often too small to be worked profitably; consequently before long they are absorbed by the large estates. This has brot about a steady decrease in the number of land owners. The possessors of these large estates turn them over to agents, who rent them out in small lots at the highest possible rent. This compels the renter to work the land for all that he can get out of it; as a result the soil is run down and the farms are ruined. Being ignorant of methods of fertilization and tillage, and modern processes, the farmer uses the same old wooden plows and clumsy hoes that have been in use for centuries; he still threshes out his grain by hand. So it is impossible to produce much per capita. And because the productivity of labor is low, wages must be correspondingly low; in fact, before the war a farm hand or laborer obtained about thirty cents a day, or from fifty to eighty dollars a year. He is compelled to live in straw huts along with his cattle; his children go to work at an early age, having little

or no chance for an education. In southern Italy and Sicily, boys are put to work in the sulphur mines; they are even often sold for from ten to twenty dollars each. The parent hopes to redeem them but seldom is able to do so, and they are thus compelled to work until they come of age. In these mines they bring the sulphur up to the surface upon their backs and generally go stark naked. Children ordinarily are expected to earn their own way as soon as they reach the ages of thirteen or fourteen, and sometimes even before that. The laborer is in such a poor position for bargaining that he gets leases only on ruinous terms. It is much the same as with the American Negro, only much worse. Also when he goes to work for wages he is frequently compelled to leave home and travel to find work. This breaks up the home life and is one cause of the terrible moral conditions that exist in Italy today. Because so many men leave the country there is a preponderance of females; woman becomes cheap, family ties are lax, and immorality flourishes.

As a result of ignorance, bad environment, and the necessity of going to work so early in life, marriages are contracted at a very early age; for the same reason the birth rate is high and families are large. The death rate is likewise high. The population is denser than that of Germany, France, India, or China, and is only exceeded by that of Great Britain, Belgium, Japan, and in America, Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

Before the war the Italian peasant spent 85 per cent of his income for food as against 62 per cent for the German worker and 41 per cent for the American workman. Then in addition the army and navy expenditures of the Italian government took five per cent of the income of the people, which was higher than that of Germany or France. These expenditures for the United States took up only two per cent. Five years of service in the army or navy were required of every able-bodied peasant.

It is no wonder, then, that when the Italian heard of better wages in America he wanted to come. The motives prompting him were purely economic. He did not as a rule look upon America as a permanent home but merely as a place where he could earn some money. He not only has come to America, but he has gone to other countries as well—in fact, wherever there has been a demand for labor. Recently South America has attracted him. The Italian has laid railroads in the United States, South America, Australia, and even

in Siberia. He has dug canals, subways, and ditches; laid sewers; built streets. In fact, he has done all kinds of unskilled labor.

While undoubtedly emigration has been a relief to Italy in that it has taken away her surplus population and sent back millions of dollars each year, it has not been the best method of solving her problem. While emigrants have sent back from \$30,000,000 to \$80,000,000 each year, Italy has not been repaid for her loss in citizenship. Over 12,000,000 people have left Italy, one-third coming to the United States; one-third has gone to South America and the rest to other countries. But these 12,000,000 have been Italy's sturdiest and best citizens. Many have returned physical wrecks, being worn out by the strenuous labor and unhealthful conditions, such as the rigor of our climate; many returned only to die. This situation has alarmed the Italian government, and it has recently taken steps to retard emigration. To solve the situation Italy must educate her people so that they can be more productive and thus eliminate or at least reduce their social problems.

In the United States the Italian usually goes first to the construction camps; then when he becomes more prosperous he becomes an organ grinder or junk dealer or sets up a fruit stand. Economically he is prosperous; but he generally sends a large share of this prosperity back to Italy and then later takes the remainder with him, for he usually returns. Socially, as we shall see later, the Italian is a problem, since he brings a lower standard of living with him. Yet without him it would have been very difficult to build our railroads, dig our subways, lay our sewers and streets. Economically he has been a boon to our capitalist, but a competitor to our laborer. Undoubtedly he has lowered wages, or rather has kept them from advancing. Socially and morally he has been more of a detriment than he has been a help. He has brot us such problems as the Black Hand. He lives in crowded sections of our cities when not in a construction camp; enduring conditions and living on wages that an American would not tolerate. He has a very high rate of illiteracy and does not readily become assimilated—at least not so readily as some other races of immigrants. This is largely owing to the lack of close contact with Americans, rather than to the quality of his mind, for the Italian is unusually quick of mind and keen of perception. He is also of a friendly and genial dispo-

sition, altho revengeful. While personally by no means a bad fellow, as a class the Italian immigrant has been a dangerous element in our population because of his competition with labor, lack of education, and low standards of living and of morality.

Whether we receive many Italian immigrants in the future depends entirely upon the economic prosperity of Italy after the return of normal times. In some ways the war has helped Italy, in that it has given her the long desired opportunity of starting factories. In the past this has not been possible because of competition, especially from Germany. The war prevented the admission of German manufactories and with allied encouragement many factories were built. If these continue to prosper and the movement continues work can be furnished the returned soldiers. One great handicap will be the lack of coal but this will be offset by an abundant labor supply. If industry is not thus built up emigration will be renewed at an even greater rate than before the war, and if the United States can offer them economic inducements, such as high wages, we may expect a return of the tide of Italian immigration, unless other countries should offer still greater inducements. One great thing to check this will be the enforcement of the literacy test, which will automatically debar about half of the Italian immigrants, and the least desirable half at that. Already Italian immigration has begun again and indications point to its considerable increase, but whether the great tide of previous years returns awaits to be seen.

The Slav. — The Slav is divided into eight different groups, as follows: (1) Polish, (2) Slovak, (3) Croatian and Slovenian, (4) Ruthenian or Rusniak, (5) Bohemian and Moravian, (6) Bulgarian and Montenegrin, (7) Russian, and (8) Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian. Each of these is distinct from the others but ordinarily undistinguished because the average American is not familiar enough with European geography to know the exact location of all these countries and provinces from which these people come. Even our census bureau classifies them according to the nation from which they departed rather than according to the divisions of the Slavic race. Each group has its own customs and characteristics and some groups are much more desirable than others. The Bohemians, for example, are much higher in culture and education because of having lived in proximity to Germany; they also furnish a higher percentage of skilled laborers.

The languages spoken by these Slavs are almost as numerous as their political groups; there are at least six different languages, to say nothing of dialects. They are as follows: (1) Russian, divided further into Great, Little, and White Russian; (2) Bulgarian; (3) Servo-Croatian; (4) Slovenian; (5) Polish; (6) Bohemian and Slovak. While having a general resemblance, they all are distinct languages and each is rich in grammatical forms and combinations of consonants peculiar to itself. This has added to the difficulties of our immigration officials.

In regard to physique the Slav is short, thick-set, stocky, and heavy in motion; he has a broad face, wide-set eyes, usually blue in color, a broad snub nose, and a lowering forehead. His disposition ranges from sullen to severe. He is characterized by a lack of aggressiveness and cohesion, altho he makes a brave and fearless fighter when properly led. The Pole under Napoleon was a dreaded fighter, but when he comes into contact with the German warrior he is usually defeated because of the lack of organization.

The Slav, coming formerly from Asia, today comprises about one-fourth of the 400,000,000 population of Europe. Since settling in Europe he has lost much territory, for at one time he held half of Germany, and what was formerly Austria-Hungary.

The economic condition in Austria-Hungary before the war was very similar to that of Italy in respect to the use of antique methods. The land was held in strips, for when serfdom was abolished in 1848 the land was so divided among the serfs that each could get a strip of meadow, a strip of upland, and a right to pasture land.

The political conditions in Austria-Hungary before the war was a monstrosity. Each division hated the other, and they had few things in common, having separate money, separate legislatures, and separate postal systems. They had a ruler in common—or rather the Hungarians were under the Austrian emperor. At the beginning of the war many Slavic regiments went over in a body to the Russians, and the Austrian government had great difficulty in stopping desertions and compelling enlistments. In many cases, especially in Galacia, it resorted to stern methods, often killing the inhabitants of entire villages or shooting entire regiments of their own troops who would not obey orders. It is claimed that the twenty-fourth Bohemian regiment, consisting of 3,000 men was mas-

sacred in this manner, its officers turning the machine guns upon the soldiers when they refused to fight against the Serbians, and that only twenty-nine survived.

Yet the Slavs seldom hang together and are constantly quarreling and fighting among themselves, as was evidenced in the Second Balkan War, when Serbia, Greece, and Roumania turned upon Bulgaria because Bulgaria took the lion's share of the spoils of the First Balkan War. This was probably the strongest reason for causing Bulgaria to cast her lot with Germany—so as to fight Serbia again. This jealousy has kept the Balkan states from uniting and forming a strong federation.

Social reforms are difficult with such people, for they are too ignorant to appreciate them. They look upon disease as being sent by God and hold any attempt to check it cowardly because we are not willing to take what God sends. The social standing of the peasant is below that of the merchant but higher than that of the laborer; every peasant has a fear of becoming a mere laborer—a possibility that has stared him in the face constantly because of the economic conditions. This fear has been one of the strongest incentives for emigration. Men even borrowed money in order to come to America. The position of woman is very low; she is beaten by her husband; she is considered little better than a beast of burden, and she is often even that, working in the fields, and even at times helping to drag the plow. This attitude towards women is one thing that the American objects to; it is in respect to it that the Slav finds himself in opposition to our methods of life.

Special causes of emigration were heavy taxation, army service, political unrest, and oppression on the part of the government. Emigration was also stimulated by the advertising of the agents of the steamship companies.

The immigrants from Russia have been mostly Jews, Poles, Finns, Lithuanians, and Germans, or in other words, the classes that have been persecuted or held down by the Russian government. Russia has for generations discriminated against the Jews because of their greater intelligence and prosperity. Since the conquest of Poland by Russia, Austria, and Germany, Poland has been oppressed, especially Russian Poland; therefore the Poles have migrated to obtain political liberty. The Finns are much superior to the Russians and rank one of the highest in percentage in literacy of all the nations of

the world, far exceeding the United States. They are highly educated and industrious, but Russia gradually took away all liberties from Finland, including the right to their own language and educational system. It tried to Russianize them. The Lithuanians have endured oppressive taxation. The Russians themselves have formed the smallest part of the Slavic group of our immigrants, for they, encouraged by their government went to Siberia.

There are about 4,000,000 Slavs in the United States; they are largely in colonies where common labor is in demand, in places such as steel centers, like Gary and Pittsburgh. The Polish populations of some of our cities are as follows: Chicago, 250,000; Buffalo, 70,000; Milwaukee, 65,000; Detroit, 50,000; Pittsburgh, 50,000; Cleveland, 30,000; Toledo, 14,000. There are 423,000 Slavs in Pennsylvania; 389,000 in Illinois, and 356,000 in New York.

The economic position of the Slav is generally that of a laborer, and if he is unskilled and cannot speak English his wages are low, ranging before the war from \$1.35 to \$1.65 a day. If skilled, he gets more, especially in the steel mills. He tries to get the prevailing wage, but before he acquires our language and a knowledge of our customs he is unable to do it. The increase of immigration, especially of Slavs and Italians, forced wages down, especially in the mines. A characteristic of the Slav is that he will accept dangerous and unhealthful work; in the mines will work drifts that no one else will work on account of the danger; in the steel mills he endures long hours and hard labor.

The social and moral conditions found amongst the Slavs are bad. Few men brot their women at first, sending for them later. When a man sent for his wife, he generally rented or built a little shack of one or two rooms. Then he took in boarders and roomers, these often sleeping on the floor as thick as space would permit. Conditions for bringing up children are thereby made terrible. The Slav is a hard drinker, especially of spirits, and when drinking is very dangerous, being prone to fight and to commit murder. Because the Slavs huddle together in colonies they do not come into contact with our habits and customs; so they keep up their old ones, sometimes even lowering their own standards of living in order to derive as great financial returns as possible. The housing conditions among the Slavs in the packing house districts of Chicago are among the worst in the city. There

is little regard paid to sanitation and hygiene; their moral condition is also bad.

The greatest increase in Slavic immigration before the war was among the Hungarians, the number of whom was in 1890 thirteen times the number in 1880; next came the Poles, the number of whom increased eight times; then the Lithuanians and Serbians. Bohemian immigration fell off. In very recent years the immigration from the Balkan states has increased quite rapidly.

Whether we receive a large Slavic immigration in the future will depend upon the future prosperity of the Slavic states, especially the new ones carried out by the treaty at Versailles. If the new governments established in Poland, Hungary, Checko-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Finland, and Russia succeed and obtain for their peoples greater economic prosperity as well as political privileges and social conditions improve, we can expect no great immigration from those countries. The same will be true with regard to Roumania and Bulgaria. If these governments fail we may expect to see a return of the Slav in immigration, but present indications seem to point towards a decline, rather than an increase. In many districts, such as Poland, the population was so thinned out by the war that there will be no surplus population for years to come. Most of these Slavic states will begin their careers without the burden of heavy debts because the new governments will not be obliged to assume the obligations of the older states; this will be a decided advantage. The enforcement of the literacy test will act still further to restrict Slavic immigration because a large percentage of Slavs are illiterate. If Slavic immigration does not return the United States will be the gainer for we have considered this class of immigration undesirable because of their low standards, thus lowering our standards, ideals and wages.

Other Nationalities—Greeks.—The Greeks have come to this country in considerable numbers in the past few years, altho they have created no great social problem because of the smallness of the Greek population. They go mostly into such occupations as boot-blackening and restaurant keeping. Economically they are very prosperous, the Greek bootblack having put the native American and colored bootblacks out of competition. In fact that is characteristic of the Greek; he generally takes up some such minor occupation and systematizes it and makes a good thing out of what some one

else made a failure of. One problem comes in with the boot-black business, however—that is child labor and the consequent failure to obey the school laws. A system almost like peonage is resorted to at times, boys being brot from Greece to work in the Greek shining parlors. The war has undoubtedly given Greece greater opportunities; better economic openings will be offered the Greek nearer home; hence there will be fewer inducements for him to come to America.

Armenians, Assyrians, and Syrians.—These three nationalities are grouped together because of their similarity, not only as regards racial stock, and appearance, but also in regard to effect upon the United States. The Armenians have come to this country largely because of religious persecutions by the Turkish government; the first ones came at the suggestion of the Christian missionaries among them. Many had trades, such as baking, tailoring and shoemaking. The amount of money brot was small, being only twenty-three dollars per capita; the percentage of illiteracy was quite high, being 21.9 per cent for those over fourteen years of age. Some are highly educated merchants and are very desirable, but others are much less desirable. In Turkey the Armenians have been the traders, and because of their cleverness and ability to get the better of the slower-witted Turks they have been much hated. When they come to this country they generally settle in colonies in manufacturing centers.

The Assyrians and Syrians are much alike; they have come to this country to escape the persecution of the Turkish government, a persecution, which has been little better than legalized robbery. They have furnished in recent years the majority of our pack peddlers. Many of these later settle down as small merchants.

The Armenian race barely escaped extermination during the war and there are few of them left. Turkey is now being broken up and greater liberties and opportunities will be given Syria and Assyria, so we can expect to receive fewer of them in the future. On the whole this will not be regretted, for as a class these people have not been liked by the American people—largely because of their swarthy appearance—altho they have not presented the problem that the Slav and Italian have given us; the failure to do so is, of course, partly owing to their smaller numbers.

Portuguese.—The Portuguese have settled largely in and New Bedford, Massachusetts, and in the Hawaiian

Islands, with a small settlement in California. A Portuguese vessel was once wrecked near New Bedford; the sailors liked the place and established themselves there; from that the Portuguese immigration started. They work in the cotton mills of New Bedford and surrounding towns. Also they go into market gardening, in which they are very successful, supplanting the native Americans, largely because of their ability to undersell them. They are very industrious but compell the whole family to work; to do this they take the children out of school as soon as the law permits, looking upon compulsory school attendance in much the same way as they would required military service. Their standards are lower than that of the native Americans but they are very successful in the accumulation of property, and it will be only a matter of a few generations till they form a sturdy part of our population. They are small in number, however, coming only to the regions indicated. Their landing in Hawaii was much the same as at New Bedford. Here they work on the plantations and as in this country, become economically successful.

French Canadians. — The French Canadians come to us principally from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec. They go mainly to New England, where they work in the factories, and in doing so underbid all races. While the English, Scotch, and Welch become our most desirable citizens, the French Canadians are among our least desirable additions, largely because they are degenerates. They became alienated from France and never have been assimilated by the English element in Canada. Then they have lived in the least productive parts of Canada and have become isolated and have dropped backward in the scale of civilization. Because their birth rate is exceedingly high, they increase faster than almost any other element of our population. They do not expect to remain permanently and generally take for a dwelling any old shack that they can find and have a strong tendency to send their children to work in the factories at as early an age as possible, evading whenever they can the school laws. Besides working in the factories the French Canadians go into the lumber camps, where they are skilled workmen, but disliked as strongly as elsewhere. They have a great fondness for alcohol, and drunkenness has been very strong among them. When under the influence of liquor they are quarrelsome and dangerous, and they often treat

their families brutally, beating their wives and children and sometimes turning them out of doors. While small in numbers they form a very undesirable element, but there is apparently no way to check their coming except thru the literacy test, which will stop a large percentage of the immigration of these people.

Japanese. — Japanese immigration was insignificant until very recently; in fact until 1891 it amounted to less than 1,000 a year, but between 1891 and 1905, 95,000 had come in. Yet the most of them are in Hawaii. Census figures are inaccurate because so many Japanese have entered by way of Mexico and Canada. Their motive for coming is purely economic; because of the overpopulation in Japan, wages there are very low. Yet they bring with them on an average forty-five dollars per capita. Their wages in this country are much lower than wages paid to white men, amounting before the war to from eighty-five to ninety cents a day in the beet fields. Because they do so much work for this small wage, they have aroused the hatred of the American worker and have caused general dislike of the Japanese. Japanese are laborers, farm hands and servants. In California they have taken up market gardening and have been very successful. This fact was the reason for the alien land bill passed in California a few years ago. In that state they are disliked very much more than the Chinese because of their fearlessness and stubbornness; unlike the Chinese they are not timid and will fight. While the percentage of illiteracy is fairly high, being 21.6 per cent. the Japanese have many admirable traits, having a low percentage of crime; habits of thrift; cleanliness and neatness in all things; and a high respect for government. The relationship between the United States and Japan has always been most friendly. It was the United States that opened up Japan to the world—or rather it was the United States that first came along after Japan was ready to be opened up. The Japanese government has regretted the emigration to the United States and has tried to divert it to Korea and has been quite successful in the attempt. The government issues few passports to the United States now and the most of Japanese immigration comes to us by way of Hawaii. The effect of the war upon Japan has been to give that nation power in the East and to extend her power over the Japanese government will more and more

attempt to keep her citizens in Asia, where she realizes her future sphere is to be. Therefore we can expect to receive fewer Japanese in the future.

Chinese. — The immigration of Chinese loomed up as a serious problem before the exclusion acts in the 80's. These were carried out by means of treaty agreements with China by which Chinese were debarred from entering this country, except for special purposes, such as studying in our schools. Because the Chinese do not intermarry with the Americans and because not enough Chinese women are imported to keep up the population, the numbers are dying out or at least are kept down. The Chinese brot with them very low standards; they lived in hovels, ate poor food, used opium to a great extent, and were immoral in their habits; therefore they formed a very undesirable element. While possibly unjust theoretically the exclusion acts were probably justified on the grounds of social expediency. The Chinese were a serious menace to American labor on account of their willingness to underbid the native worker and their ability to live on less because of their lower standard of living. This has often brot up the question of whether exclusion of a few more nationalities might not be a good thing. Because of international complications this policy has never been repeated.

Hindu. — The Hindu is a class which is entirely new and which as yet is a very unimportant element in the immigrant stream. But if it increases in numbers it will be very serious, for the Hindu brings with him a low standard, lower in fact than that of the Chinese. He is also haughty and considers his philosophy of life superior to ours. As yet few Hindus have come, but if they do increase, steps will have to be taken to stop them, possible by means of a treaty with Great Britain—a treaty which undoubtedly could be easily negotiated. The Hindus have thus far gone more to Canada than to the United States, but in Canada they are fully as little desired as here; in fact many have been refused admission.

Tides of Immigration. — Immigration has come to this country in waves, the waves following our periods of prosperity. The first big wave came in 1842, when the 100,000 mark was reached. Then because of the financial uncertainty of the next year and because of the political unrest, owing to the Mexican War, immigration fell off and the next wave

did not reach our shores till 1854, when 427,000 arrived. After the Civil War the wave did not return till 1882—when the country had recovered from the panic of 1873; but this time it had reached 788,000. Thereafter the number decreased and did not reach the former level until the country had repaired the losses caused by the panic of 1893. It increased in the later 90's and reached its crest in 1907, just before the panic of that year; but as the immigration year ends June 30 the panic did not affect the statistics for that year, when 1,285,349 were received. The number of arrivals immediately fell off but soon began again to increase until in 1913 and 1914 the number had almost reached the high water mark of 1907. With the beginning of the World War immigration immediately decreased; in fact the tide turned in the opposite direction, for many aliens returned to fight in the European armies. The next year immigration had fallen to 434,244, or 32.3 per cent of that of the preceding year, and the immigration for July, 1915, was 21,504, as compared with 60,777 for July, 1914—a decrease of 64.4 per cent. Later immigration practically disappeared with the entry of practically all the nations of Europe into the struggle, with the exception of the immigration from Mexico—always a minor element—which actually increased.

We are now, since the war is over, wondering what the future has in store for us in respect to immigration. If, as we have already stated, the Slavic countries of Middle Europe are able to establish sound economic, social and political conditions, we can expect this large source of past immigration to yield us few immigrants in the future. If France and England regain something of their former prosperity we can not look for an increase from that quarter. The neutral countries, especially the Scandinavian, will not be burdened with debt and will be able to find a ready market for their products; so we cannot look for a return of Scandinavian immigration. In Germany and Austria there may be a strong desire to escape the inevitable taxation and the imminent economic depression; but on the other hand our country will be in no temper to receive such a migration, even tho in the past we considered the Teuton desirable; undoubtedly if such immigration begins, our government will take steps to end it, either by treaty or by direct legislative action. The situation in Turkey is very uncertain but the oppressed races in that country, that furnished us immigrants, will receive

political and religious freedom and better social and economic conditions thru the intervention of the European nations, hence we can expect fewer immigrants from that quarter. Russia and Italy are the uncertain elements; the results will depend upon their future prosperity. If Italy is unable to gain economic prosperity by the development of industry her people will seek to escape poverty and the increased burden of taxation by migration, and the United States will receive her share—possibly more than her share, depending upon the literacy test. With Russia the situation will largely rest upon whether that country is able to establish a stable democratic government. She has thrown off her old despotic government which in the past stood in the way of progress, but has as yet been unable to establish anything to take its place. So if we receive much immigration in the future it will probably come from Italy and Russia, especially Italy, except that we can expect increases from minor sources, such as Mexico, Spain and Portugal.

READING REFERENCES

Found at End of Chapter VI.

CHAPTER VI

IMMIGRATION (*Continued*)

Effect of Immigration Upon the Population of the United States.—In 1910 there were 13,345,000 foreign-born persons in the United States—14.5 per cent of the 92,000,000. But if we include those born here of foreign parentage, we find the number considerably greater, amounting in that year to 32,243,000, or 35 per cent. And we must consider those of foreign parentage, for very often, especially in our large cities, the children of the foreign-born create greater problems than do the immigrants themselves. Of course these were not evenly distributed over the country; we find the leading states as follows:

<i>States—</i>	<i>Percentage Foreign-Born</i>	<i>Percentage Foreign Parentage.</i>
Rhode Island -----	32.8	68.7
Massachusetts -----	31.2	66.
New York -----	29.9	63.
Connecticut -----	29.9	63.1
North Dakota -----	27.1	70.6
Minnesota -----	26.2	71.5
New Jersey -----	25.9	56.6
Wisconsin -----	22.	68.8
California -----	21.8	50.
Illinois -----	21.3	51.9
Maryland -----	8.	---
Missouri -----	7.	---
Michigan -----	---	55.5
Montana -----	---	50.
Utah -----	---	50.

While nearly all the states that lead in the percentage of foreign-born are near the top in respect to foreign parentage, we notice a few leading in foreign parentage that have an insignificant number of foreign-born; such are Michigan, Montana, and Utah, showing that immigrants are no longer drawn to those states. Practically all the recent immigration went to ten states; if we examine the figures for the ten leading cities of the United States, arranged in order of size, we

shall see that they received the majority of this immigration, almost in the order of their size. Here we shall find the ratio much the same in both columns.

<i>City—</i>	<i>Percentage Foreign-Born</i>	<i>Percentage Foreign Parentage</i>
New York -----	40.4	78.6
Chicago -----	35.7	77.5
Philadelphia -----	24.7	56.8
St. Louis -----	18.3	54.2
Boston -----	35.9	72.2
Cleveland -----	34.9	74.8
Baltimore -----	13.8	37.9
Pittsburgh -----	26.3	62.2
Detroit -----	33.6	74.
San Francisco -----	31.4	68.3

New York is said to have the largest German population of any city in the world after Berlin; the largest Italian population after Naples; the largest Irish population with no exception, and by far the largest Jewish population.

Not only have our immigrants gone to certain localities; but each nationality has had its own particular place or places to settle. The Germans have had two favorite regions—New York and Pennsylvania in the East, and Wisconsin and Illinois in the West. Many have gone to other localities but even there they generally have settled in colonies. The Scandinavians have gone to Minnesota and the Dakotas. The Italians have remained in the East, in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut; in 1910 three-fourths or 997,000 of the 1,343,000 immigrants born in Italy, were living in those states and in Illinois. While the Jews come from all countries and from all kinds of regions, they nearly always have gone to the cities, especially to New York; 93,000 out of 149,000 who came in 1907 settled in that state. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Illinois have received the Slavs in that general order. This flocking to our cities that were already overcrowded has been one of the serious aspects of immigration. If the newcomers had gone to the rural regions we could easily have absorbed them. In the large cities they live in the most thickly settled districts where they meet only those of their own nationality or at best immigrants of other nationalities and seldom come into close contact with the native American; so it is very difficult for us to assimilate them. This is especially true when there is little necessity or incentive for learning the English language

—to say nothing of our customs and habits. Here also they easily have fallen below the poverty line and the more easily have sunk into vice and crime, especially in the second generation. The European immigrant has not gone to the South because of competition with the Negro.

Effect of Immigration Upon Industry.—The bulk of the immigrants are unskilled laborers. Even if they had some degree of skill in their native country, that skill very often is of no avail to them in this country because of the different methods of production. Of the 1,285,000 immigrants coming in 1907, only 12,600 belonged to the professional classes, and only 190,000—or about 15 per cent—were skilled workmen. The percentage differs greatly, moreover with the nationalities, many of the Jews and Bohemians being skilled as well as those nationalities coming from northern Europe. But of the 242,000 coming from southern Italy in 1907, only 701 were skilled; of the 138,000 Poles only 273 had trades. This invasion furnished the capitalists with a large supply of cheap labor and consequently boomed industry, especially those industries which need much unskilled labor, such as the steel, woolen and cotton industries. It made big corporations and trusts possible in these lines of industry. The railroads would have been handicapped without this mass to draw from; probably many additions and improvements would not have been made if we had had no immigration, for native labor would have been too expensive. In short, immigration has been a boon to the capitalist and made it possible for him to pile up his millions. While the immigrant forms only one-seventh of our total population, he makes up one-half of the number of people engaged in manufacturing; one-fourth of those in transportation; one-fourth of those in mining, and one-fourth of those in domestic science. These are the industries that have profited primarily by immigration.

Where the immigrant has entered an industry he has supplanted the native workers in that industry. But this has not been altogether bad, for it has forced the natives up. Then again the older races, as soon as they acquire American standards, are in turn forced out by later arrivals. Some illustrations of this are the following. The manufacture of collars and cuffs was carried on formerly by the Irish; they were supplanted by the Poles, who in turn gave way to the Armenians. In the manufacture of woollens, worsteds, and underwear, the Irish and English were displaced by the Poles

and Italians. In the production of cotton goods the English speaking races were pushed aside by the Italians and Poles. In the manufacture of men's and women's clothing the Germans were supplanted by the Russians and Italians. In the paper industry the Germans, English, and Irish were eliminated by Russians and Poles. In the production of gas and electric fixtures the Italians and Russians supplanted the Germans. In the rope industry the Irish were pushed aside by the Swedes, who in turn gave way to the Italians. As good an illustration of the change can be observed in the cotton textile industry of New England as can be found anywhere. This industry was begun by the sons and daughters of American families, direct descendants of the founders of this nation. Their places were taken by the Irish, but the Irish were forced to give way to the French Canadians. Now the French Canadians are being forced out by the Portuguese, Greeks, Syrians, Poles and Italians. The tailors in New York formerly were English and Scotch, then Irish and Germans, next Russian Jews; but now the Jews are being driven out by the Italians. It is the same in Boston only there the Portuguese take a hand. In Chicago the problem is much similar, except that the addition of Poles and Bohemians lends variety to the mixture. "As soon as a race rises in the scale of living, and thru organization begins to demand higher wages and resist the pressure of long hours and over-exertion, the employers substitute another race and the process is repeated".¹

While immigration has helped to build up the United States industrially it has brot about other conditions which are not satisfactory. The large profits derived from these industries have not gone to pay higher wages, provide better dwellings for the workers, or even to provide better streets and more improvements for the manufacturing towns; instead they have gone into the pockets of the stockholders. They have gone to pay dividends on stock, much of which consists of water, and to pay large salaries to managers. President Wood of the American Woollen Company was said to be receiving a salary of \$50,000 at the time of the Lawrence strike in the winter of 1911-12, at which time the average wage in his mills was under six dollars a week; some workers receiving as low as three dollars a week.

¹Commons, "*Races and Immigrants in America*".

Effect of Immigration Upon Labor. — While immigration has been a distinct aid to the capitalist, it has been an equally distinct detriment to the laborer. The influx of such a great mass of labor, especially unskilled labor, in such a short time and in such limited districts has upset the balance of supply and demand. Wages are fixed not by the productivity of labor in actual life but by the supply of labor coupled with its bargaining position. Productivity of labor only sets its upper limit, one above which wages cannot go; the actual wage paid is often far below it. Hence immigration has kept the wages of American workmen from advancing as rapidly as they otherwise would have done, for, while the immigrant has come to this country to make a fortune; works for money, and wants the highest wage possible, he is not in a position to demand it. Wages are not paid according to the desire or need of the worker but almost on the contrary; if one needs a high wage, that need will count against one in attempting to get it. One's necessity decreases one's power of resistance and lowers the bargaining position. The employer pays as small a wage as possible; since the immigrant has little money and must take any work he can get; he cannot haggle over higher wages. Also immigrant labor is unorganized and is not able to present a solid front against capital; the immigrant bargains only as an individual. The employer does not care whether a certain man or some one else has the job; so there is no position for argument—the immigrant has to take what is offered. Thus being ignorant not only of our customs, habits and language, but also of our prices, he thinks the wage offered to him a good one.

Because of his ignorance the more recent immigrant is hard to organize into the unions to which the Irish took so easily. Besides as soon as one class or race reached the state where they were able to be organized, the employers saw to it that their place was taken by newer arrivals. This was satisfactory to the employer but not favorable to the worker, for it kept wages down.

The same lack of funds that prevented advantageous bargaining in the city kept the immigrant from going to the rural districts, for he had no money with which to buy land or stock a farm. Then too the farmer, suspicious of him because of his difference in speech, habits, and customs, and disliking his unpresentable appearance, has not wanted him as a laborer. Hence he has been forced into the industries

in the already overcrowded centers, where he is desired by the employer because of his willingness to being driven at a hard pace and his submission to longer hours than the American will tolerate. He will also do more dangerous work, especially in the mines, entering dangerous drifts and working under conditions that his predecessor would not endure. This is especially true of the Slav. It is partially owing to his ignorance of the actual danger and of the fact that he is working longer hours than other people. In this way the advantage is always taken of him by the employer.

It is sometimes given as an argument against immigration that the immigrants send vast quantities of money back to Europe. In 1907 they sent back \$275,000,000. But we must recognize the fact that Europe produced these immigrants and that it would have cost us at least \$1,000 each to do this. As we received that same year (1907) over a million and a quarter of immigrants, worth to America as economic machines at least \$1,000,000,000, there was left to our credit a balance of \$725,000,000—a very profitable account.

Social Effects of Immigration.—*Standard of Living.*—In our study of the different nationalities that make up our immigrant population we noticed that each nationality brought with it the standard of living of the country from which it came. This was particularly emphasized in regard to their ideas of wages and the necessities of life—in other words, their standards of income and expenses. We found that the immigrant has been detrimental to the native American workman because he was able and willing to live on a lower economic plane. He has been contented with earning less and desirous of spending less. But this standard of living applies not only to the quality of food, raiment, and shelter, but also to ethical and moral standards. While the economic standard affects the whole of life to a greater or less degree, there are perhaps other standards fully as important. The immigrant brings with him different ideas in regard to woman's position. She is looked upon as an inferior, and among many races is treated merely as a drudge. This is particularly true of the Poles; their women expect to be beaten by their husbands; in fact they sometimes consider it strange if their husbands do not beat them. After the newcomers live in the United States some time they change their ideas, of course; but the Poles are constantly getting into trouble with the police for beating their wives. The Germans

have a low estimate of woman, considering that it is her place to wait upon the man. The Italian treats his wife very well altho he will allow her to work in the fields with him or to go into industry till the household finances improve; but as soon as this improvement takes place she leaves the field and factory. The immigrant has different ideas likewise in regard to education. He looks upon compulsory education as a nuisance and sends his children to school only when compelled to do so. He thinks of children not as liabilities but as assets, and generally regards education as a necessary evil because it reduces the immediate possible earnings of the family. As soon as the child reaches the age limit for compulsory attendance the child is taken from the school, seldom being left to finish the term or even week. This desire to increase the earnings leads to child labor and fraudulent methods of obtaining working permits and to other methods of dodging the school or child labor laws. The second generation, however, feels the need of an education. They generally see to it that their children attend school. The immigrant, especially the French, German, and Russian, brings with him ideas of vice that differ from the American point of view. Moral codes are not so strict in Europe as in the United States; there is, in many countries, state regulation of vice, and prostitution is looked upon as a profession which is strictly within the pale of the law. This has had a damaging effect upon our own standards in this matter. Our brothels have become filled to a great extent by immigrant women, of whom many have been imported for the purpose and others enticed or forced into them after arrival here. The immigrant woman is ignorant of our customs and is an easy victim. In Europe prostitutes are examined and to some extent remain free from disease, but in this country there has been no examination and because of this fact the immigrants scatter the venereal diseases more than they did in their native country. The immigrant has been compelled by economic conditions to live in close proximity to the red-light districts in our large cities, and has thus been exposed to greater temptation and has run a greater danger of contracting disease. The effect has been especially damaging upon the second generation. Many of the immigrants have brot with them habits of drinking; the Irish have a fondness for whiskey, as has also the Pole; the growth of the brewery industry and the tremendous increase in beer drinking has

been chiefly caused by German immigration. Among these peoples the saloon keeper, in anti-prohibition days, held a position of social prestige, much the same as that held among the early Puritans by the tavern keeper. The matter of Sabbath observance offers another instance of difference in standards. The immigrant has come from a country where little observance of the Sabbath is held and this fact has undoubtedly had a great deal to do with the decline in the observance of the Sabbath among us. Now what has been the result of thus bringing together peoples with two entirely different standards? While it has raised the standard of the immigrant and lifted the average, it has unquestionably lowered our standard. Moreover, the immigrant has been thrown among the lowest classes of Americans and thereby has not come into contact with our highest and best standards; so often our effect upon him has not been salutary.

Crime.—It is often stated that immigration has increased crime and has helped to fill our prisons and penitentiaries; but statistics do not prove this, at least to a degree at all alarming. The Special Prison Census of 1904 shows that at that time 23.7 per cent of the male white prisoners in the United States were foreign-born and that 23 per cent of the general male white population over fifteen years of age were foreign-born. In 1910 the percentage of the male white prisoners was 22.3 while the percentage of our population had slightly increased. The percentage of commitments was larger, amounting in 1910 to 26.1 of the male white prison population. The reason for this was the larger number of minor offences, like drunkenness, or disorderly conduct, committed by the immigrant. When we consider that crime is committed by men in the prime of life, and that the immigrant is away from home, possible completely separated from all home ties and necessarily passing thru a crisis in his life career, and that in addition, he is thrown into our worst environment, we must admit that the showing is very good and far from alarming. Statistics for those of foreign parentage are not as favorable, thus reflecting upon our influence upon the immigrant. Since the children of the immigrants are often reared in our worst slums under inadequate control of their parents, this condition can be easily explained. The parents are away working all day—the mother frequently as well as the father—and the children are left to shift for themselves. Even when the parents are at home the children

frequently look down upon them because of their ignorance and uncouth appearance. The children can speak English; the parents often never learn it; because of this difference the child is more advanced in many ways than the parent, and so instead of respecting the father and mother the child often despises them. Having as a consequence no guide in life, the child easily drifts into the habits of those around him.

Some races are much more addicted to crime than others. The Irish lead all nationalities; in 1910 they made up 10.1 per cent of the foreign-born population, yet they furnished 26.9 per cent of their crimes. Yet these crimes were mostly of a petty nature, particularly drunkenness and disorderly conduct. The Italians, on the contrary, commit the serious offences, leading all nationalities in assaults. In 1904, 14.4 per cent of the major offenders in the United States were Italians, while the Italians made up but 4.7 per cent of our population. In New York City 26.9 per cent of those convicted of crimes of personal violence in 1907-8 were Italians, yet the Italians made up only seven per cent of the population of the city in 1910. The Black Hand is another serious problem with the Italians. Slavs, especially the Poles, are also inclined to crimes of personal violence, particularly when under the influence of liquor. But after all, considering the facts that the immigrant is in a new country; that he is ignorant of the laws, which are different from the ones to which he has been accustomed; that he is cut loose from all home ties; and that he has an unequal chance in court, being before an unsympathetic judge and having little chance for defense, and so being more liable to conviction, it cannot be proved that the immigrant is criminal. The wonder is that he is not convicted more often than he is.

Illiteracy.—Immigration has contributed largely to the illiteracy situation in the United States, especially in the northern states. Of the 5,516,000 illiterates in the United States in 1910, 1,535,000 were native whites and 1,650,000 were foreign-born. In the southern states illiteracy is increased largely because of the negro but in the north it is almost wholly caused by immigration, as is shown by the following:

<i>Locality—</i>	<i>Total Illiteracy</i>	<i>Native White</i>	<i>Foreign-Born</i>
New York State -----	5.5%	.7%	13.7%
Massachusetts -----	5.2	.5	12.7
New York City -----	6.7	.3	13.2
Boston -----	4.4	.1	10.

We find that the percentage of illiteracy differs greatly with the race. The ratio for all immigrants in 1907 was 30 per cent, but it differed as follows among the various nationalities:

Southern Italy -----	53%	France -----	4%
Poles -----	40	Germany -----	4
Slovaks -----	25	Irish -----	3
Ruthenians -----	56	English -----	2
Russian Jews -----	29	Scandinavian -----	1

The children of immigrants learn our language; the grandchildren of these immigrants are on a par with children of native ancestry. We find that where the percentage of illiteracy among immigrants is high, the amount of money brought in is low; in fact if we inverted the above column we should have almost the correct standing in regard to economic conditions. We find illiteracy much greater among females than among males, owing to the position of woman in Europe. Women acquire our language much more slowly than men, owing to the fact that men mingle more with Americans and are thus compelled to learn the language much more quickly. This is noticed in the Southwest where most of the Mexican men can speak English—at least enough to be understood—and few women can either speak or understand any English. Illiteracy is really quite a serious problem, for it makes assimilation difficult. If an immigrant can read and write his own language it is much easier to learn our language; if he cannot, learning our language is a laborious, if not impossible, task. If an immigrant never learns to read or write English, the newspapers, magazines, and books never appeal to him; thus the channels of approach are nearly all closed and it is very difficult to teach such an immigrant our customs and habits, to say nothing of our ideals and standards of living. These are the reasons why a literacy test was so strongly urged and a law requiring it finally passed, in spite of the vetoes of our chief executives.

Poverty.—Since the immigrant came to America in the prime of life, when he was at his greatest earning capacity, and since he was usually single, other things being equal we should expect few paupers on the same ground that we should expect a high rate of criminality. Yet on the other hand the immigrant was handicapped by ignorance, especially of our language, and so was often in need of temporary assistance. Because he was at the bottom of the ladder economically,

if he failed to get work or lost his position after he got one, he was in a bad condition and had to fall back upon public or private charity. If he had a family he was badly handicapped, and even if he was working he found it exceedingly difficult to support his family because of our high prices and because of the low wages which he, as a result of his ignorance and lack of skill, was forced to receive.

In 1907-8, according to the report of the Commissioner of Immigration, out of 288,395 inmates of our charitable institutions in the United States, 60,025 were foreign-born—about 21 per cent. Yet the foreign-born make up but 15 per cent of our population. In New York the percentage was not so high, being only 10.4 per cent for inmates of charitable institutions. These figures are not at all bad but they do not show the real problem by any means. Many of our immigrants, who never apply for public aid, are in desperate financial condition. Often their children are sent to school without any food or at best with insufficient food to permit the carrying on of successful school work. It has been estimated at times that from 25 per cent to 30 per cent of the school children in such cities as New York and Chicago have insufficient food to keep up vitality to a point that would enable them to do their school work in a satisfactory manner, and an undue percentage of these are children of the foreign-born. Often both parents are away working and the child gets either no lunch or an insufficient one. This condition is more serious than adult poverty, for it means a stunted and degenerate second generation. In fact the problem is the same as with crime; it is the second generation that slumps. Being thrown upon the streets for recreation, the children lose their independence and do not have the energy and thrift of their parents; they feel less responsibility for making both ends meet. They also become stunted and degenerate physically because of their surroundings, the lack of nutritious food, the absence of fresh air, and the existence of unhealthful conditions in general. These conditions have been caused by the ignorance and poverty of their parents, who live in the worst tenements in the cities, shut their windows at night, and crowd together in an awful fashion. Since the second generation is physically unfit and lacking in moral stamina, it is not loathe to fall back upon charity. This is a problem that can be dealt with; it can be largely eliminated by proper building codes, which forbid the erection and use of tene-

ments that do not allow fresh air, by proper inspection in regard to overcrowding, and the institution of some care in regard to seeing that the children are properly looked after. Proper child-labor legislation and inspection will eliminate much of this trouble. A minimum wage will enable the parents to earn more and so to provide better food, clothing and shelter. The condition that now exists is largely the fault of our civilization rather than that of the immigrant.

However, with the change in immigration from northern to southern Europe, we do find a difference in the attitude towards the receipt of help. We find that the Italians, especially those from southern Italy, and particularly those from Naples, expect help to a certain extent. They hear of our methods of dispensing charity and come here with an expectancy of receiving aid. Upon arrival they quickly learn of the institutions and associations that aid in poor relief. The older immigrants expect to carve out their destinies by their own efforts; the newer ones are not so strongly imbued with this sentiment. However, on the whole, the pauperism side has been greatly exaggerated; but the poverty situation, bringing with it a degenerating effect upon the second generation, probably has been minimized.

Miscellaneous Social Effects.—The decay of religious sentiment with its resulting disregard for the Sabbath, has already been mentioned. Another thing to be noticed is the change in the religious faith with the change of the source of immigration—from the Protestant to the Catholic. Our recent immigrants come almost entirely from Catholic countries. This in itself is no problem altho we find the Catholic Church on the whole more conservative than the Protestant and opposing many of our reforms, particularly woman suffrage and prohibition. Its adherents have a much lower regard for woman than Protestants have. The Catholic Church as a rule encourages large families in order to increase the number of adherents; but generally these large families come in the classes that are least able to care for them and so tend to increase poverty. On the other hand the Catholic Church has a splendid organization for poor relief.

The matter of education has been mentioned in regard to the reluctance of immigrants to sending their children to school and in regard to their habit of taking their children out as soon as the law will allow it. Another phase of this problem comes in the difficulty of appealing to the child

while he is in school. He is not familiar with our conditions, traditions and history; so the teacher finds great difficulty in linking the teachings of the school to the home life of the child. The teachers are usually women, and because the immigrant has a low regard for woman, the child of the immigrant has little respect for the teacher. On the whole the immigrant child is a serious problem. Then the problem is increased by the fact that poor nutrition, insufficient clothing, and inadequate sanitation make the immigrant child unfit physically to respond to the efforts of the teacher.

Immigration has upset the proportion of the sexes. For a considerable number of years about two-thirds of the immigrants were males; in 1907 the proportion was 929,976 males and 355,373 females. This has been the strongest reason for the existing plurality of males in the United States. We ordinarily look upon immigration as one of the principal causes for the increase of our population, but we should remember that the immigrant began to come in large numbers in the 40's, the birth-rate of the native population has steadily declined. Some writers from this fact argue that if we had had no immigration our population would have increased just as rapidly, that the birth-rate of the native fell off in proportion to the immigration, and that as the native was forced to compete with the immigrant the birth-rate fell off on that account. On the other hand, the birth-rate might have diminished any way and immigration may have been the means of keeping up the increase in our population. Some students go so far as to show statistics proving that the South has increased as rapidly without immigration as the North has with it; but because of errors in the statistics and because other causes have been at work such comparisons are omitted here. Since immigration has forced the native up in the economic scale and since the upper classes usually have fewer children, immigration may have been a cause in the decline in the native birth-rate; but even if this is true the writer fails to see what loss the country has suffered. However this is all a matter of theory, and we have nothing definite to show that immigration has affected our birth-rate, altho in all probability it has done so.

It is only natural that we should find immigration causing a social disturbance, for the introduction of any new element brings about an upheaval in any society; it is to be expected that difficulties of assimilation should be encountered. If

immigration is well scattered, assimilation is accelerated; but if the immigrants settle in communities, where their life is more or less complete and where they are not compelled to come into contact with the natives, assimilation is much more difficult and of course is greatly retarded.

Political Effects of Immigration.—The immigrant of yesterday has to a great extent become the citizen of today; the immigrant of today will to the same extent become the citizen of tomorrow. Professor Röss estimates that in 1910 there were three million naturalized citizens in the United States, and that in certain sections of the country, such as parts of New England, New York, and the Middle West, they constituted at least one-fourth of the voters. The danger lies in the fact that when the immigrant becomes a citizen, not having behind him the traditions of the native, he does not realize the value of the ballot. This, coupled with his ignorance of American political methods makes him an easy mark for the ward politician and the party boss. He was in the past to a great extent under the control of the saloon-keeper. The ballot too often is simply the means of adding to his income, as is expressed in a letter of the Italian—writing to his friend in Palermo, referred to by Professor Ross¹—“Come over here quick, Luigi, this is a wonderful country. You can do anything you want to, and, besides they give you a vote you can get two dollars for”. This situation is one reason that such political machines as Tammany in New York and Butler’s “Indians” in St. Louis get such control over the vote of the naturalized citizens and are enabled to swing this vote in any way they wish. While cities that have a low percentage of immigrants have in many cases as corrupt governments as some which have a much higher percentage, the immigrant vote is not so intelligent as the native vote and therefore can be exploited in a greater manner. Some nationalities have a fondness for politics; this is especially true of the Irish, who are our leading politicians, and who swing the vote of their nationality almost as a body. For the past twenty-five or thirty years it has been almost impossible in Boston to elect a mayor or in fact almost any other official who was not Irish. The Poles in Chicago rival the Irish in Boston, only in a lesser degree. The immigrant does not concern himself much over our issues or principles, but votes

¹*Century Magazine*, January, 1914.

rather for a friend; such machines as Tammany control him because they see to it that he is befriended when in need. While by no means alarming, the immigrant forms a somewhat dangerous element in politics.

Legislative Restrictions Upon Immigration. — Congress recognized no problem in immigration till 1875, altho long before that time the public began to feel that there was a problem; legislation is always slower than public opinion. In 1875 Congress passed an act excluding women imported for immoral purposes, convicts and contract laborers.

In 1882 the first general act was passed as relating to the control of foreign commerce. This act ordered the exclusion of persons liable to become public charges, such as lunatics, idiots, and those without means of taking care of themselves. It assessed a fine against any steamship company and captain importing such and compelled the steamship company to give them free transportation back to the country of embarkation.

The Act of 1891 added to these classes those afflicted with loathsome or contagious diseases, polygamists, and any one whose passage was paid by another, unless affirmatively shown that he was not otherwise objectionable. It prohibited the extensive advertising of the steamship companies, limiting the advertising to the publishing of the fares and the dates of sailing. This provision however, has become a dead letter because of the lack of jurisdiction and inspection. This act provided for the exclusion within one year of those immigrants who had entered unlawfully and of those who had become public charges from causes operative prior to their landing. A head tax of fifty cents to pay for the expenses of inspection and relief of the immigrant upon landing was levied.

The Act of 1893, after providing for some administrative features, increased the head tax to two dollars and added to the excluded lists procurers, anarchists, and those assisted by others than friends; and it extended the examination to cabin passengers. In 1897 this head tax was raised to four dollars.

The Act of 1903 was more extensive; after reducing the head tax to two dollars, it reclassified the excluded classes as follows: (1) idiots, (2) insane, (3) epileptics, (4) persons who have been insane within five years prior to arrival, (5) persons who have had two or more attacks of insanity at any previous time, (6) paupers, (7) persons likely to become public charges, (8) professional beggars, (9) persons afflicted

with a dangerous or loathsome disease, (10) persons convicted of some felony or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude (not including those convicted of purely political offences), (11) polygamists, (12) anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence either of the government of the United States, or of all governments, or of all forms of law; or favor the assassination of public officials; (13) prostitutes, (14) persons who procure or attempt to bring in prostitutes or women for purposes of prostitution, (15) those whose passage has been paid by others, unless it is affirmatively proved that they do not belong to any other of the excluded groups—or that they have been sent for by relatives or friends in this country. No mention is made of contract laborers because the acts of 1885 and 1888 on this subject still hold good.

In addition to this legislation by means of treaty arrangements with China during the 80's, Chinese immigration is prohibited.

The Act of 1907 kept the most of the features of the Act of 1903; it defined a little better the excluded classes, again raised the head tax to four dollars, and included the contract labor clause. It provided for the return of an alien within three years who was found in a house of prostitution or who engaged in prostitution as a business. It also provided a fine of \$5,000, or five years imprisonment, for bringing in women for prostitution; \$1,000 fine for bringing in contract laborers; \$1,000 fine for attempting to land anyone who was liable to exclusion; \$100 fine on the steamship company for every immigrant denied admission, and \$300 fine on the steamship company for each excluded immigrant denied transportation back. It also gave elaborate specifications for the mechanism of inspection, examination and detention of those waiting special examinations, and adequate provisions for the deportation of those excluded later.

By the Act of February, 1917, the famous literacy test, over which there has been so much contention, was added to the qualifications for entrance into this country. This provision had been previously passed by Congress a number of times but had met with the presidential veto on the part of Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson. After it had been vetoed twice by President Wilson, the necessary two-thirds vote was obtained in Congress and it became a law. This act excludes from the United States all aliens over sixteen years of age

who cannot read the English language or some other language or dialect. Provision is made for any admissible alien to bring in or send for his wife, father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, and unmarried or widowed daughter. The father or grandfather must be at least fifty-five years of age, and otherwise admissible. While a literacy test will not exclude criminals or vicious persons, it is hoped that it will stop a large part of the undesirable immigration. It will be unjust at times and may keep from our shore many who would make desirable citizens; on the whole it will keep away a far greater number who would make undesirable additions. Some minor provisions were included in this act but this test is the chief provision in the bill.

In addition to these restrictions, many laws have been passed, beginning as early as 1819, looking to protection of the immigrant, to prevention of overcrowding of vessels, to provision of air space and proper food, to protection against swindlers, etc. Some acts were even passed to encourage immigration. Not until 1882 did the Federal government take charge of immigration, it having been left to the state of entry. Up until that time no state had passed laws against immigration because it was not previously considered really detrimental; many states had passed laws encouraging it.

As a result of heavy fines assessed on steamship companies, these companies hold examinations upon embarkation and as a result few applicants have recently been refused admission on this side. Some of the laws work injustice at times, especially the contract labor laws, which exclude the best as well as the poorest, for those holding good positions in Europe will not give them up until they are assured better positions here. This was especially true of opera singers, teachers and other professional peoples, and exceptions had to be made for them. But it still keeps out much skilled labor.

Proposed Legislation. — *Increase of the Head Tax.* — An increase in the amount of the head tax is generally condemned, for it would only be a means of making the new arrival poorer; it moreover would be a tax upon those least able to pay—a policy which is contrary to the present theory of taxation.

Require a definite amount of money upon arrival. If each immigrant were required to possess a minimum amount of money, it would tend to insure the newcomer against falling

into immediate distress. It would make coming to this country more difficult, and so would be a check on the undesirable class. Yet wealth is never a test of desirability. Such a requirement could easily be evaded, for a friend would often lend the required amount; yet if one had such credit it would denote character, for it would require honesty to get the money. Then all immigrants do not need the same amount, for those going to live with relatives or friends can easily get work. On the whole, however, such a requirement would undoubtedly prevent much misery and distress.

Physical Test. — If a physical test is imposed it would be absolute. But it would be difficult to set a standard that would suit the different races. It would require a great amount of work. It might, however, be much better than a financial test. At any rate it would help maintain the physical efficiency of our race.

Consular Inspection. — Several years ago a desire for consular inspection was very popular. Under this system there would be inspection on the other side carried on by the American consuls. There are several objections to such a plan. It would require a great increase in our consular service. It would result in a great rush just before the sailing of a vessel. It would necessitate the employing of many clerks, some of whom would likely be incompetent. There would be endless chance for graft. Moreover consuls would not always be experts, such as we have at Ellis Island. In addition there would have to be a second inspection at this end to see if the immigrants had consular certificates and to see if the consular certificates were true or false. This would be a double expense. On the other hand there are some distinct advantages to be gained. We have no way on this side of the ocean of looking up an immigrant to inquire in regard to his character, ancestors, or even criminal record. On the other side this material would be available. So the consul, because of his greater opportunity to get information, would in this respect be better qualified. The scheme would add no new restrictions and would be no check upon immigration; it would in many cases save the immigrant much trouble and expense. At present, however, the steamship companies examine them so as not to bring any who would be liable to be rejected.

Limitation of Numbers. — One plan that has been suggested is to allow only a certain number to come during any

one year. Such a limitation would not be fair and would not keep out the undesirables. It would mean to take of all kinds till the allotted number was reached.

Mental Test.—Different sorts of mental tests have been recommended, but questions arise as to what tests would be used and how they could be put into practice. It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to get a fair test.

Require Certificates of Good Character.—A requirement of certificates of good character would only lead to fraud. Who has ever seen any person, no matter how disreputable or dishonest, who was not able to get a pocket full of such certificates? Frequently the more dishonest he is, the better the certificates are.

Discriminate Against Certain Nations.—It has been suggested that we exclude certain nations, as the Italians, Russians and other Slavic nationalities, just as we did the Chinese. This plan would lead to international troubles. Unless such exclusion could be done by means of treaties with the countries that did not want their citizens to emigrate, it would be a bad international policy.

Add to the Excluded Classes.—We do not allow anarchists who believe in no government. Why not exclude socialists who believe in the government doing everything? One is at one extreme, the other at the opposite. This would never do, for the socialistic program is generally recognized as an advance on our own—in other words, a reform. We argue against socialism because of the inability to practice it, because of the imperfections of man; but forbidding the socialist would be reactionary and a backward step.

Shall we exclude the unskilled laborers? But we often need him—in fact have needed him badly since the war—and he is often very desirable as a citizen. "Exclude the 'birds of passage'". But how are we going to determine how long a man intends to remain here or how soon he is liable to change his mind? "Exclude those without families." But those without families are least liable to fall upon charity. They are thus better able to take care of themselves. "Exclude the aged." But there are very few of them and they generally have relatives to care for them. Then too the aged do not have small children dependent upon them, to suffer by their poverty if they fall into distress.

Exclude All.—Total exclusion would be far too drastic. It would be entirely contrary to the spirit of the constitution

and the standards of the nation, for we have always stood as the home of the free and the haven of the oppressed.

Compel Steamship Companies to Furnish Better Accommodations.—Ideally such a regulation seems good, but it would only increase the expenses of transportation and so would add to the burden of those coming.

Arguments for restriction hang upon the following four leading viewpoints:

1. *Industrial.*—Whether or not we consider immigration a benefit here depends largely upon whether we are capitalists or laborers. From the standpoint of the employer of labor, immigration is a great benefit, for it furnishes an abundance of cheap labor, labor which is also easily controlled. This enables the development of great industrial concerns and big business in general. It makes possible the development of new industries—industries which might not otherwise be built up. From the standpoint of labor, immigration is a sharp detriment, because it upsets the balance of supply and demand by increasing the supply of labor without a corresponding increase in the demand for it, and consequently keeps wages from increasing as rapidly as they otherwise would do. It causes unemployment, resulting in poverty and suffering. When immigration was checked in 1915 by the World War, the unemployment problem in the United States ceased to exist, for as soon as business adjusted itself to new conditions there was practically no unemployment. All workers who were efficient and able were employed. While immigration usually has forced the native worker up in the industrial struggle, it has sometimes kept him down, that is, if he was unprepared to rise.

2. *Political.*—Whether the addition to our voting population will bring new blood into our political life or whether it will form an element which will undermine our institutions is the question from the political standpoint. The naturalized voter does not have back of him that which the native voter has and does not look upon the ballot in the same way; hence he is more easily controlled by corrupt party machines. This condition is the most serious in the larger cities, altho probably not nearly as serious as it is sometimes pictured. Often coming from a country where he has had no experience in popular government, the immigrant is much less capable of using the ballot than the native, even if his ideals and motives be as high.

3. *Social.*—Socially the problem is whether immigration is detrimental to our social life—whether it adulterates our ideas of morality, increases crime, adds to the numbers of our dependent classes, and lowers our standard of living. The introduction of any new element necessarily causes confusion and if the newer element is a decidedly lower one and insists on remaining compact, then the problem is increased. The earlier immigration was assimilated without much difficulty; but the recent immigration has been entirely different. Then, too, our facilities for assimilation have changed; our cheap land is gone, and we are becoming an industrial rather than an agricultural country. To assimilate the new immigration requires hard work; it cannot be left to be accomplished without aid. The present problems are as much our fault as that of the immigrant. When we realize this fact and set ourselves systematically to the problem of making citizens out of the immigrants, then we can hope for better results. It will require the co-operation of our schools, churches, Y. M. C. A., settlements, and in fact all our social organizations to affect it.

4. *Biological.*—Whether the infusion of new blood will be for the advantage or disadvantage of our race biologically is an unsettled question. A mongrel race is ordinarily considered superior to a thorobred race, provided of course the mongrel race is made up of the best blood of the several races. If it is made up of the leftovers, of the degenerates of several races, then the result will be poorer than any of the races taken singly. Have we received the best blood or the poorest? If we get the best blood of Italy, Austria, and the Slavic countries, that best may be inferior to the blood of the American, which comes from the finest blood of northern Europe. So the intermingling of the races from southern Europe may be bad, even if we receive the strongest elements of those races. The success of the American nation in the past has been largely owing to the fact that we were made up of the strongest elements of the hardiest nations of Europe; we are loathe to lose this advantage by taking into our midst races that are inferior because they have been crushed and down-trodden for centuries.

Future Immigration.—Just what will be the immigration situation in the future is impossible to predict just now. Some authorities predict that the demand for labor in Europe will be so great that few will desire or be permitted to leave. Others think that the burdens of taxation in many of the

countries will cause a great rush to this country; that thousands will be displaced in the reorganization of industry and will be forced to migrate; and that it is essential for us to prepare for this rush by placing proper restrictions upon immigration before it sets in. At any rate the question is well worth considering. If the peace terms are successfully carried out, the lot of the common people in many countries of Europe will be better, in spite of the burdens of taxation; therefore the motives for migration will be less. In that case we can expect a much smaller immigration than we had in the past. If on the other hand there is some defect in these terms and if some forces, possibly not seen now, thwart their being successfully carried out, immigration may again return to us. Of course we shall receive a certain amount of immigration because under modern commercial conditions there is always some movement from one country to another. Then, altho better conditions prevail in Europe than before the war, if America offers even greater inducements than those given in Europe, we can expect future immigration, altho possibly in smaller numbers than heretofore. But the present outlook is that as a great overshadowing problem in the United States immigration is at an end. If it returns it will in all probability be a minor problem, and one with which we shall be in a much better position to grapple, both in regard to furnishing better conditions in which to live and in our understanding of the different European races, resulting from our taking part in the war, but also from the greater realization of our own defects.

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CHAPTER VII

URBAN MIGRATION

A social phenomenon which has been at work almost since civilization began is the movement of peoples from the country to the city. The first that we know of it was in the two great centers of civilization, the valleys of the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates, in both of which there sprang up cities of importance. Similar centers of population developed in the rich river valleys of India and China. These places were thickly settled because of their ability to support large populations. As a result of these populations there developed trade and commerce, and consequently trade centers; these in turn drew larger populations. But the city of ancient times was primarily a military stronghold or a place of worship, and therefore an elevated position or a place for some other reason difficult of access was chosen for the purpose of protection. Jerusalem, Athens, Tyre, and Rome are examples of this idea. If there was no such inaccessible place at hand, great walls were constructed for protection, as in the case of Babylon and Ninevah. During the Middle Ages, under feudalism, when each baron held his land by force of arms, castles were built upon rocky heights. Armed bands defended these castles and also over-awed the surrounding territory. Around these castles people settled for the sake of protection—other people than the knights, retainers, and vassals of the baron; as a result cities sprang up. Europe is full of such castles and cities. Also during the Middle Ages there arose cities along trade routes, as on the Danube, for the purpose of commerce; they became trade and commercial centers. Such cities as Budapest, Vienna, Munich, Frankfort, Cologne, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Ghent, Hamburg, Bremen, and the Italian cities of Florence, Genoa, Pisa, and Venice are examples of the cities of this type. The city in the modern form is chiefly an industrial or commercial city and did not come into existence to any appreciable extent until the industrial revolution. Thus the present-day city is a

product of industrial development. The great cities of Europe have had their most rapid growth since the industrial revolution, altho their history goes back many centuries before that time; the amount of increase during the nineteenth century is shown by the following table:

<i>City—</i>	<i>Population 1800</i>	<i>Population 1901</i>
London -----	864,000	4,536,000 ¹
Paris -----	547,000	2,714,000
Berlin -----	172,000	1,888,000
Vienna -----	232,000	1,674,000

The great increase in urban population as compared with rural growth did not develop so early in the United States as in Europe, because the United States remained longer an agricultural country. Towards the close of the nineteenth century we awoke to a realization of this tendency, and many students of the question have become alarmed; in fact, some even call it our most serious social problem today. This alarm over urban migration is by no means a new thing as far as history is concerned; it is merely new with us because we are a young nation and a new country. Xenophon in his time bewailed a similar movement and predicted calamity; Varro did the same; and at different times European statesmen, especially those of France, have been aroused by the same phenomenon. Yet the fact that similar movements and consequent fears have existed heretofore does not minimize the fact that this migration is a very serious matter for the United States.

In 1800 there were in the United States only five cities with a population of over 10,000, and they contained 5.8 per cent of the population of the country. In 1900 there were 447 such cities, and they contained 32 per cent of the country's population; and in 1910 the figures had increased to 603 and 37 per cent respectively. While the rural population increased only 5.8 per cent from 1900 to 1910, the urban population had increased 34.8 per cent.² During this same period the most rapid growth was in places of from 50,000 to 250,000 population. One thing which adds to the seriousness of the problem is the fact that this increase is not scattered over the entire country, but is confined largely to a few sections of the country, especially the New England and Middle Atlantic states, which are already overcrowded, and

¹Greater London 6,581,000.

²Places of 2500 or over are classed here by the U. S. Census Bureau as urban.

the North Central states, which in the past have been chiefly agricultural—in fact, our leading agricultural states—but are now becoming urban. In 1910 the five states of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Ohio contained one-half of the urban population of the country. The following states in 1910 had over one-half of their population residing in cities or in towns of 2500 or over.

<i>State</i>	<i>% Urban Population</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>% Urban Population</i>
Rhode Island -----	96.7	Pennsylvania -----	60.4
Massachusetts -----	92.8	New Hampshire -----	59.2
Connecticut -----	89.7	Ohio -----	55.9
New York -----	78.8	Washington -----	53.0
New Jersey -----	75.2	Maine -----	51.4
California -----	61.8	Maryland -----	50.8
Illinois -----	61.7	Colorado -----	50.4

As compared with the most urban of European countries.

England and Wales -----	78.0	Germany -----	57.4
Scotland -----	77.0	France -----	41.0
Saxony -----	60.4	Holland -----	40.5

We do not usually look upon the United States as thickly populated, and as a nation it is not; yet there are a few sections, such as Rhode Island, which are more thickly populated than almost any other political division in the world. To get some idea of the growth of cities one has only to travel by train from Boston to Washington, D. C., by way of Providence, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, where for 500 miles there is a never ending chain of cities; in fact it is difficult at times to tell where one city ends and the next one begins.

Also from 1900 to 1910 six states—New Hampshire, Vermont, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri, actually decreased in rural population, and these include four great agricultural commonwealths of the Central states.

Causes of Urban Migration.—Professor Ellwood separates the causes of the growth of cities into two classes: (1) general or social causes, and (2) minor or individual causes.¹ It is, however, very difficult to distinguish between the two. The following are perhaps the leading causes for this migration.

1. *Rapid Industrial Growth of the Country.*—The modern city is largely the product of industry. The establishment

¹*Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, p. 266.

of industries has created an increased demand for labor, and as a result laborers have flocked to the city. Not only have they offered higher money wages than were obtainable on the farm, but they have promised work thruout the year, a thing which is almost impossible on the farm, because of the dependence of farm labor upon the seasons. Not only has this attraction pulled the farm hand from the farm, but in a still larger way it has drawn the immigrant to the city. In the early history of our country the farm offered greater inducements to the immigrant, but with present high prices for land and intricate modern methods of farming the immigrant can seldom go to the farm if he desires. While the farm may offer higher real wages and greater economic returns ultimately, it is difficult for the farm laborer or renter to realize this fact.

2. *Commercial Growth of the Country.*— Similar to the industrial development has been the commercial growth. Present methods of industry demand wholesale offices in our cities for selling the goods manufactured; they require also middlemen and vast retail establishments. The result is a demand for greater means of transportation; hence railway centers arise. There must be more salesmen, buyers, shipping clerks, railway employees—all the immense army of men and women employed in modern business. This demand has attracted the young and enterprising from the rural districts, not altogether because of higher money wages, but because of the hope of advancement and future success in business. Altho the average person would probably do better in the small place, the few who have the ability meet the opportunity to rise to greater heights than would have been possible in any rural community. While there are more blanks in the lottery, the prizes are greater; while more people fail than in the country, they are forgotten or are obscured by the great success of a few.

3. *Change in Agricultural Methods.*— As the demand for labor in the city has increased, the relative demand in the country has decreased. The invention of new machinery, especially modern gang plows, reapers, and binders, has enabled one person to do the work which formerly took five or ten men. The demand for agricultural products has constantly increased, it is true, but not in proportion to the decrease in the demand for labor. This has caused the farm hand to migrate. No longer is there any cheap land, such

as there was in early days of the country. Land has increased tremendously in value. Farm land in such states as Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri now costs from \$100.00 to \$200.00 an acre, and often more. This, coupled with the increased cost of machinery, horses, and cattle, requires a capital of several thousands of dollars in order to start farming. Even if credit be obtainable, interest rates bring in an overhead charge of several hundred dollars a year. This situation not only prevents immigrants and other laborers from going to the farm; it even drives the farmer's sons away from the farm. If the son is enterprising and independent, and desires to marry and settle down, he does not care to wait until his father dies and the old farm comes to him, or (if there are several sons), is divided up. Also he may not only dislike to remain at home but may even be crowded out because of a large family. On account of these facts and the lessening demand for labor upon the farm, many workers migrate, who would be willing to remain upon the farm if opportunities were equal. The fact that a decreasing proportion of our population is needed upon the farm is not so serious in itself, unless the decrease be too rapid. The seriousness comes from the fact that the most enterprising and independent are the ones who migrate, thus leaving the less energetic upon the farm.

4. *The City Is More Alluring.* — Not only from economic but from psychic reasons the city is more attractive; in fact, if the question should be carefully analyzed, it might show that psychic reasons are more important than economic ones. Among these may be mentioned:

(1). *Excitement.* — The spirit of adventure draws to the city in much the same manner that the frontier attracted the venturesome and daring in our pioneer days. Then people left the settlements to seek fortunes across the Appalachians, regardless of the dangers from wild beasts and Indians and of the hardships to be endured. In a like way the city attracts the same element today. The noise and bustle are alluring; there are more things to be seen and heard. Life is not so dull and monotonous as in the country. The loneliness and isolation are supplanted by excitement and stir. While life is harder in the city and a living more difficult to wrest from society than in the country, opportunities for advancement are more frequent if one is alert, and enthusiasm and hope drive one on to greater efforts.

(2). *Recreation.*—In former days country life was furnished with recreational opportunities, such as husking, paring, and quilting bees, log-rollings, house-raisings, spelling contests, picnics, and parties; but unfortunately as these entertainments became things of the past little was introduced to take their places. On the other hand the city has furnished a never ending series of amusements in the way of baseball games, theatres, parks, museums, prize fights, wrestling matches, bowling, pool halls, electric parks, and latest moving picture shows. In this way life in the city is not so dull as in the country. The modern generation demands recreation, and it is only natural that the city should thus attract.

(3). *Intellectual Advantages.*—The city offers not only better schools but also more of them and a greater variety of subjects. It offers greater advantages in the way of libraries, altho exceptions should possibly be made of the New England states, where every little town has a public library of some kind, generally containing the world's best literature. Art galleries and natural history museums are found only in large places. While magazines and newspapers are obtainable in most rural places, they are not so available in the country as in the city. The city pulpits are better supplied than country churches because they can command the best talent. This does not seem to attract much, however, because city churches draw a smaller proportion of the population than country churches.

(4). *Superior Comforts.*—Many comforts are available to a much greater extent in the city, such as steam heat, electricity, gas, and facilities for shopping. These are especially attractive to farmers who have made a fortune sufficient to enable them to retire, and they appeal to the younger generation, especially to those who have traveled about somewhat or have been off to college. The city also offers more attractive conditions of labor to both men and women. The housewife has less work to do, and the man's working day is several hours shorter than in the country, thus giving more time for recreation and amusement.

(5). *Class Consciousness.*—There has always been a line of discrimination drawn between the city dwellers and those who live in the country. The farmer is more or less (at least it has been so in the past) looked down upon as uncouth and ignorant. The city person sneers at the small town

inhabitant; this is shown in the press and in our magazines. Our educational training fits especially for city life, rather than for country life—so much so that it educates away from the farm. We are now trying to remedy this defect, but in the past as soon as a person received an education he generally migrated to the city, because he considered that he had outgrown his former class.

(6). *All Activities Center About the City.*—Not only do industry, commerce, and education center about the large place, but all our activities are becoming more and more centralized in cities. Our colleges are being established in large centers, magazines are published there, and even agricultural societies generally have their central offices located in some large city. The city is like a whirlpool or maelstrom around which our whole life whirls, and because of this force of attraction the city draws, or has drawn, the most efficient, active, and energetic from the country. The whole process is simply a condition of modern times.

Forces Operating Against This Migration.—Against these causes new forces are setting in to counterbalance this migration. The automobile is doing wonders in making farm life more attractive and in putting it into close touch with the rest of the world. The rural free delivery of mail, parcels post, and rural telephones have all done their share in this direction, but the automobile possibly surpasses them all. Good roads are being built in all sections of the country, largely as a result of the coming of the automobile. As we shall see later better schools are being constructed and more useful methods of instruction introduced. The recently established system of government credits promises much in enabling young men to get started in farming.

Probably the great force of all is the increased prosperity of the farmer during the past few years. Prices obtained for farm products have soared recently, and not only promise not to decline but give every indication of going still higher—recent war prices being excepted. All this means more money for the farmer, and consequently promises greater comforts, more labor saving machinery, more books, magazines, automobiles, phonographs, pianos, better education for his children and in some cases even some of the luxuries of life. During the past few years the successful farmers have prospered enormously; in fact, today the farmer is the best situated individual in society, and the future bids fair to do

even better by him than the past. He is able not only to get higher prices but to market more of his products and to keep in better touch with prices and market conditions than formerly. Our agricultural colleges and experiment stations have done much in instructing farmers how to get the largest returns from their farms. Co-operation is the greatest hope of the future in winning a larger share of return to the producer. Co-operative methods have been successful in parts of Europe in the marketing of farm products, especially butter, bacon, cheese, and eggs. In Denmark co-operation has turned a poor country into one of the most prosperous lands in the world. The idea is being introduced into the United States and wherever tried among farmers for the marketing of products has almost invariably met with splendid success. This is particularly true in regard to the managing of grain elevators, the selling of milk and creamery products, and the marketing of fruits (as illustrated by the California Fruit Growers Association); as a result, co-operation is now being rapidly adopted in the marketing of all manner of farm products. This, coupled with scientific farming, will make the farmer financially prosperous and as a result many of the causes of urban migration will disappear. Farming is no longer looked upon as a haphazard business, which any person, no matter whether he has the ability to do anything else or not, can do. Instead it is being considered as a business which requires modern business methods and scientific management; and as a result these methods are being applied. The farm is regarded no longer as a place for the ne'er-do-wells but for the most energetic and enterprising, and it is attracting the latter class because of the chance of increased prosperity. The ideal condition has not been reached at present by any means, and there are still many rural problems, some of which we shall now consider.

Problems of the Country. — Rural problems are not glaring and sensational like some of the problems which we find in cities, such as child labor and immorality. Conditions are not so bad as in our city slums. We find in the country no tenement houses, sweatshops, or bad sanitary conditions, which are often found in cities. Poverty, while often present, never has the pitiful features of poverty in cities for the simple reason that the farmer produces his own food and hence generally has sufficient to prevent hunger. Fuel is usually obtainable; so few suffer from cold. The spirit of

neighborliness has not disappeared in rural sections and the needy are cared for. In the city unemployment means destitution because the income stops. In the country one is ordinarily his own employer; even if one is dependent upon daily labor, suffering is never as keen. Crime is infrequent in the country because of lack of temptation or opportunity to commit it; if a person does commit a crime he generally goes to the city to avoid detection. The small town, however, produces its full share of the vicious and criminal, but these people often do not remain there, altho some small towns can be found which are veritable hot-beds of vice and crime. On the whole the country is a more healthful place in which to live, but it is by no means as healthful as it should be. The country should—and could—be the most attractive place in which to live, not only the most healthful and most profitable, but also the pleasantest, and most comfortable; unfortunately it often falls far short of this. The sins of the country are ones of omission, rather than of commission. The farmer is essentially a middle class person, if we can safely mention anybody as belonging to such a class. We should not expect him to be polished in manners or as neat in dress, as careful about his language or as highly educated, as the lawyer or banker, for illustration; or to become as wealthy as our capitalists; but he often falls below middle class standards. The rural problem is by no means a matter of charity but of education, of that stimulation. A few phases of it, however, need our attention.

1. *The Country School.*—In general country schools are not the equal of town schools. Not only is the equipment poorer but the teachers are frequently inexperienced or poorly prepared for their work. They receive poor pay, often very insignificant salaries, which of course do not attract those who are capable; hence country schools are usually taught by those lacking experience or by those unable to obtain positions in town schools. While the school buildings were once considered adequate they are far too often dilapidated now, and too frequently are poorly planned in regard to ventilation, lighting, and sanitation. On the average, school terms are shorter by several days or weeks than terms in cities. Then one of the most serious defects is that the country teacher is generally burdened with too many classes, often having all the grades, and so is unable to give proper attention to any of them. There are frequently too few students

in the school to give the proper stimulation and rivalry, especially in the upper classes, which sometimes have only one or two students in them. Then there are many rural schools with too few pupils to provide any sort of give and take between the pupils or even to permit organized play of any kind, thousands of schools in the country having no more than six pupils. Consolidation of schools offers a solution for many of these evils, furnishing larger classes, more and better teachers; the grades are thus able to be divided. It does not solve all the difficulties, but if properly handled goes a long way towards the solution of some. The old time country school, however, is a thing of the past, because the conditions of the past will not return; the country school of the future must meet the conditions of tomorrow. In the past the schoolhouse was used as a social center but it has of recent years not been so used. The entertainments of the years past have been outgrown and few new ones have taken their place. The school property can be used as a social center, where entertainments, such as moving picture shows, fairs, and track meets can be held, and where clubs can meet; and in this way country life may be made more interesting and helpful. The curriculum of the school does not always give the rural student the proper training needed for life, as it is too often designed to fit for the high school, which in turn fits for college; thus the child is educated away from the farm instead of for the farm. The study of scientific agriculture has been introduced into rural schools, but, because of inexperienced teachers is generally poorly taught. Agricultural high schools are now being introduced, they are however, as yet very few in number. Their aim is to prepare those who intend to follow farming for their lifework and to give them training which will be of use to them in after life. The education furnished by our agricultural colleges is steadily improving and is being made use of more and more, it is doing the farmer a great service. The country school is slowly being improved but before it can be made what it should be there is need of an entire change of sentiment in most communities in regard to the importance of education for the farmer; a strong desire to improve the rural school must be created.

2. *The Country Church.*—The country church does not play the part in the life of the rural community, that it formerly did; because it, like the rural school, has not adapted

itself to new conditions. It has been hard hit by the migration to the city of the most enterprising, because it has thus lost its leaders. Salaries are low and as a result the ministers are poor, being either theological students or old, broken-down ministers; of course, neither kind is able to stimulate the community and inject new life into it. Generally rural communities are over-supplied in regard to buildings and church organizations, but the churches are starved in regard to attendance and contributions. Many argue there is as great a need of consolidation of churches as of schools but reform of this kind has not as yet met with the success that has greeted school consolidation, because of sectarianism; there have been, however, some successes in this line, and in the future greater progress can be expected. The country church is not the social center that it ought to be, and in order to take the place which it should hold in the community the rural church must attain to more importance in the social life of the community. This is being done in a few neighborhoods but needs extension in order to permit the rural church to function as it should. In many ways the church is much better fitted for this work than the school, altho in some respects it is handicapped. The country church needs better pastors, but in order to attract them it must be willing—for many churches are able—to pay salaries sufficient to guarantee a living wage for a competent pastor located in the community, and not depend upon students to supply one or two Sundays in the month. What the country church needs is new life; with the most energetic people going to the city it is difficult at present to give it this life. But with the returning prosperity to the farm, this may become much easier. At present, tho, the country church offers quite a problem for the rural community to solve.

3. *Recreation.*—The lack of recreation is quite a serious matter for the country and an important cause of urban migration. When the sports and entertainments of colonial and pioneer days were out-grown, new ones did not come to take their place, at least not in sufficient numbers to fill the need. Consequently country life has too frequently become dull and uninteresting; it has degenerated into either dull drudgery or a sordid race for wealth. This condition has had a depressing effect upon the younger generation and as a result the best have too frequently left the farm. The country

Y. M. C. A. and the Camp Fire organizations are doing much to meet this need. The automobile enables people to get away from home but too often makes them prefer to remain in the city for social life and entertainment. As suggested before, the parcels post, telephone, and rural free delivery of mail are making country life less isolated and lonesome. Rural social centers probably offer the best remedy for this situation, and with increased financial prosperity the country will find ways to overcome this now important rural difficulty.

4. *Wasteful Methods.*—One of the greatest detriments to farming today is the lack of application of business methods. There is a tremendous waste and leakage. The farm is not made to contribute by any means what it is capable of doing. Yields per acre for all sections of the country are far below what they should be, largely because of the failure on the part of farmers to make use of modern methods of agriculture. Farmers are, however, losing their distrust of "new-fangled" methods and "book farming", and are learning that agricultural colleges and experiment stations are able to give them much help. Lecturers and exhibition trains sent out by the government are now made use of by the farmers, whereas at first they were scoffed at. As has been suggested, the farmer in the past failed to realize from his farm products as he should have realized, because middlemen took too large a share: now by means of organization he is rapidly learning to get his share and to reduce the middlemen's profits to their proper amount. But wasteful methods are still found upon the farm. One has only to travel thru almost any farming section to see valuable farm machinery rusting in the fields, even expensive binders, mowing machines, and plows—left where they were last used. This is pure waste, and somebody has to pay for this added cost of farming. American farmers are criticized for allowing land to go to waste by never cultivating corners and by using unproductively large amounts of land. This is largely owing to the fact that the average farmer, especially in the western states, has more land than he can effectively farm. We cannot blame him for buying up all the land that he can because of the probability of its increasing in value and the profit resulting to the farmer on his investment, but from a national standpoint the practice is wasteful. From time to time we hear a great deal about tenant farmers, absentee owners who rent their farms, and the fact that renters, having no permanent interest

in the farm, allow it to run down, and also work the so-called "skinning" method, thus mining the soil and robbing it of its natural richness and needed chemical vitality. Much of our soil, especially in the East has worn out in the past by just such methods, but farmers are now generally becoming acquainted with methods of replenishing the elements in the soil by proper rotation of crops, and the use of fertilizers, but renters will not use these methods unless compelled to do so; neither will shiftless and shortsighted farmers. This phase of the problem is possibly receiving more attention than many others and, because it seriously affects the pocket-book of the owner, has caused him to pay attention to it. Our farming in the past has been too extensive; it will be only a question of time until more intensive methods must be used, in order that this country can support the population which it is destined to have within a few decades. The problem of waste is one which only education can solve. Systems of farm accounting are now helping the farmer find out where his waste is.

Other phases of the rural problem might be mentioned but these just discussed are probably the most serious. The whole situation is one of isolation, as opposed to the problem of congestion, which we shall encounter next when we take up the city problem. While city problems have been before us for decades, in fact some of them for centuries, the rural problem is one that has attracted our attention only recently and that therefore has not had the remedial measures applied to it that have been put into use in dealing with the problem of the city. While perhaps more serious just now than the city problem, because of lack of attention, it in all probability will more easily lend itself to solution. But at present it cannot be ignored.

Problems of the City. — Not only has migration to the city caused a problem in the country by reason of the immigration of the most energetic, but the immigration into the city has created there a problem of congestion. This migration from rural districts to the city has been supplemented, as we have seen by the tide of immigration, in addition to the natural growth in population of the city itself. Gillette estimates the growth in population of American cities as being, owing as follows to immigration, 41 per cent; to rural migration, 29.8 per cent; to natural increase, 21.6 per cent; to the

incorporation of new territory, 7.6 per cent.¹ This congestion of population has brot in many problems, many of which are just the opposite of those we have just studied. Some of them are the following:

1. *Transportation.*—Even the use of city streets has become a problem. Traffic regulations are necessary, not only at street corners in the direction of traffic but also in the use of the street for surface cars, and the prohibiting the use of certain vehicles on certain streets, and in some of our older cities, such as Boston, the designation of certain streets as "one way" streets. The transportation of people to and from work, as well as the handling of shopping crowds, is a tremendous problem, entirely too large in most of our great cities for the street railway systems to handle, and requires the addition of elevated or subway lines, and often both, to handle the traffic, to say nothing of the use of suburban trains on the steam lines, which in many places, especially Boston, handle a large share of the business. Other phases of the transportation problem are the building and use of both passenger and freight terminals, costing vast sums because of the value of city real estate. The Grand Central and Pennsylvania passenger stations in New York City with their approaches, cost the New York Central and Pennsylvania systems over \$250,000,000. While these are our most expensive stations, the establishment of proper terminals in all cities is a problem involving tremendous expense and much engineering skill. Because of their monopoly of the business, street railways bring in problems in regard to the granting of franchises and their regulation and control for the sake of public proper service. This problem of transportation leads to many other problems, such as high rent and housing situations.

2. *Municipal Government.*—The government of cities themselves is a very difficult matter and one in which American cities are notorious for their failings, to such an extent indeed that American municipal government is often referred to as one of the worst forms of government to be found in civilized nations. City government in this country has been notorious for its graft; in fact it has been so bad in most cities that many voters have given up in disgust and look upon any change in administration as simply the pushing out

¹Gillette, John M., *Constructive Rural Sociology*, p. 86.

of one band of grafters by another fully as bad, and unfortunately they often seem to be correct. Many cities are remedying this situation by the adoption of the commission form of government thereby centralizing responsibility, the lack of which is a great weakness in most city governments. City managers are also being introduced, especially in the smaller cities, in order to install business methods in city affairs. Both of these plans have improved the situation but there is still room for more improvements. The greater use of civil service rules often helps, altho recently a city administration in Chicago ignored those holding office under the civil service laws and deposed them the same as other officials in order to make room for the new crowd of friends and followers. The government of cities at best is a difficult problem, even when the administration attempts really to serve the people, but when politicians make use of their offices for their own benefit, the difficulty is greatly intensified; hence our failure in the past.

3. *Health*.—Formerly the death rates of cities were extremely high, and while this condition has been overcome and the death rate greatly reduced, and in fact, in some cities brot down to normal, on the average the death rate for cities is still considerably above that of rural communities. The congestion of population naturally increases the liability to contagious diseases, especially in the public schools. The danger from accident is great because of the rush and bustle of city life. Hence the care of the sick and injured is generally a large task and requires more attention than in the country. Private hospitals are unable to deal with the problem because of the poverty of many people; medical care has to be supplemented by municipal hospitals and dispensaries, by the institution of visiting nurses and medical inspection in schools, and by the establishment of free clinics. The question of food is a greater health problem than in the country, especially in regard to milk and vegetables, because nearly all the food consumed in cities must be imported from the country and requires careful inspection not only as to the packing and transportation, but also in regard to the selling of it, in order that the sale of decayed and impure foods may be prevented. This matter has been given widespread attention and in many places is very effectively handled. The water supply is also a matter for serious consideration, the water often being brot hundreds of miles at the cost of mil-

lions of dollars. Unless a pure source is thus tapped the drinking water has to be filtered by the city—a process which is both difficult and expensive. The disposal of wastes, especially garbage, street sweepings and sewerage, is often a vast problem, even at times baffling experts because of the nature of the location of the city. The cleaning of the streets is also a job which requires much expense and constant work. The whole question of sanitation for a city is a mammoth one, but fortunately one which is now being given a great deal of attention, the results of which are generally very beneficial. Even flies and rats attract the notice of boards of health and are fought by them. Because of the scarcity of land there has been a premium upon housing space; hence there has crept into our cities extremely unsanitary and unhealthful tenements, particularly those of the old “dumb-bell” type. Modern building codes, when properly enforced, protect the city against this evil. The city is troubled with many unhealthful occupations and with many unwholesome working conditions; these are constant menaces to the health of the dwellers in all our cities. The whole health situation in a city is a very grave one but during the past few years it has had a great deal of heed paid to it and will have still more in the future. Even now in some respects the city is more healthful than the country because of this careful inspection and oversight.

4. *Protection.*—As we shall see in our study of social maladjustment, crime and vice, like poverty, are more prevalent in cities, because of greater opportunity and temptation. Therefore more careful protection both of lives and of property on the part of police is demanded. Our city police forces are generally so huge, so vitally connected with life, and brot into such close contact with crime and politics that they themselves very frequently become corrupt and inefficient. But the very organization of police forces is a big task. Protection must be given the public on every street corner by traffic policemen; criminals must be run down; and the public in general must be protected and aided. The danger from fire is great and all of our cities have expensive and efficient fire departments. The labor problem is more difficult in the city than in the country and often property and lives have to be protected from violence in the case of any labor disturbance involving public service corporations, such as street railways. Vice in a regrettable amount exists in every city.

Intemperance used to be greater in cities and the regulation of the liquor business was always difficult and a source of much crime, poverty, and corruption. Even the administration of justice is hindered because of the number of cases requiring special courts, such as juvenile and domestic relations courts. City jails are also necessary to house those convicted of minor crimes. It is on the whole by no means a small undertaking to protect the lives, property, health, and morals of the inhabitants of a large city.

5. *Education.* — The city as well as the country has its educational problem, only it is occasioned by having too many children to care for, rather than too few. The number is often so great that the capacity of school buildings is inadequate; it increases faster than the city is able to provide facilities for accommodating the children. Sometimes half-day sessions are necessary. The Gary system of rotation of classes, thus making use of all the school facilities all the time, is the best method devised so far for handling the situation. An attendant evil has been the development of too much machinery and too arbitrary a system of education, putting thereby all sorts of children thru the same process. A remedy is found in special grouping of different kinds of pupils, such as classes for the dull, the precocious, the truant, and the physically defective. The school system has not always fitted for life, but now special schools, particularly trade schools are established in order to add to the usefulness of the system. It is an arduous undertaking to run the schools of any large city, to hire efficient teachers, maintain discipline, provide proper equipment, supervise sanitation, and to do all this upon the amount of money appropriated by the city. All these difficulties are by no means insurmountable; in fact they are usually handled with some degree of efficiency; they are, however problems which will never be completely solved, because new conditions will constantly be arising. Hence the educational phase of any growing city will always require attention.

6. *Recreation.* — The city also has its recreation problem; it is not so much the lack of means of recreation as in the country, but the placing within the reach of all, opportunities for healthful recreation and wholesome pleasure. It means the control and regulation of the commercialized forms of amusement, such as theatres, dance halls, pool halls, and bowling alleys; the construction of suitable playgrounds for

the children of the crowded districts; and the providing of public parks, art galleries, bathing beaches, public baths, and social centers. The problem is two-fold; to prevent questionable and degrading sorts of recreation, and to stimulate and provide opportunities for healthful and uplifting forms. It is a question of quality rather than of quantity.

7. *Municipal Ownership and Control.*—Public service industries, with the growth of cities, have become institutions of much importance, especially those responsible for systems of lighting, gas works, street railways, and the handling of food, ice, and coal. There seem to be two better methods of managing these enterprises than unrestricted private ownership, which often does not work for the best interests of the public, and these are control by the city and ownership by the city. Control is generally the first step but it often leads to ownership. Various arguments can be advanced in favor of each of these methods; choice between them depends largely upon the place and conditions, but the tendency seems to be towards the ownership on the part of the city of those industries which are vital to the public and which are of such a nature as are apt to become monopolized. Street railways, subways, and heating and lighting plants have been acquired in much the same way that the ownership of waterworks and sewerage systems has been taken over by cities. This practice can only come in slowly because of the inexperience of the American people in the governmental management of industries and because of the attitude towards public position ordinarily shown in this country; but there seems to be some movement in this direction.

8. *City Planning.*—At first cities “simply grew” without much idea of a plan; but because they did not always grow in a manner beneficial to succeeding generations and because there arose populations several times the wildest dreams of the founders, it is now being realized that a city should be planned for the future, not only in regard to streets, railroads, and public buildings but also in regard to practically all the industries of the city. Not only is this being carried out to some extent in most cities as they look towards future growth, but attempts are being made to rectify the mistakes of the past. It is, however, extremely difficult to make any kind of accurate guess in regard to the future development and growth of any certain city. Some have a steady growth,

others grow by fits and starts, still others do not grow at all, and a few decline in population and importance.

The whole matter of urban migration, while important as a present day condition and one which certainly needs the attention of society, is by no means hopeless. Society needs only to remedy the bad features brot in by it, such as the problems indicated above. It is simply a natural condition, a phase of the evolution of society; it is merely a part of the world movement of, populations.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE AMERICAN RACE PROBLEM

The negro problem in the United States furnishes us an example of race friction, but it will be treated at greater length than it deserves as an illustration, because of its seriousness as an American problem. Race hatred seems to be almost innate. We consider the yellow race inferior to the white; the yellow race has the same attitude towards the white. The English look down upon the Hindoos; the Hindoos despise the English. Every race thinks itself the superior race; each nation looks upon its country and people as the best; every state does likewise, and each person in every state considers his town the best place in which to live. Though there are exceptions, this principle is almost universal.

When two races or peoples come into contact there is friction and generally war. The result is that one is forced to give in to the other. It has been said that every race which has opposed the white race has been defeated; that the white race has broken them all. When the white man has come into contact with the red man, the red man has been almost annihilated, and in fact in many places actually exterminated. When the white man has come into contact with the yellow man, the yellow man, with some exceptions, such as are found in the recent history of Japan, has either retreated or given up his land. When the black race has come into contact with the white, the black has succumbed; instead of being completely broken, however he has bent, becoming the servant or slave of the white man. This is true, not only in America, but in almost all parts of the world, including most of the parts of Africa, into which white men have gone in any considerable numbers. Even when outnumbered by the blacks twenty or even one hundred to one, the whites have come out victorious because of their superiority; their greater advance in civilization and the arts; their greater will power, courage, ambition, and ingenuity.

Increase of Negro Population in the United States.

— Before we go any further we must get our bearings by regarding the size of negro population, the rate of increase, the percentage of mulattos, the distribution in the states in which they are to be found, in order better to consider the subject. The first negroes were brot to this country by the Dutch in 1619, when a cargo of twenty was landed at Jamestown, Virginia, and sold as slaves to the planters. From that time until January 1, 1809, when the importation of slaves was prohibited by Congress, slaves were imported into the United States in varying numbers, thus adding to the natural increase among those already here. No reliable records are available till 1790, when our first census was taken, but from that time the negro population has increased as follows:

<i>Census Year</i>	<i>Negro Population</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total Population</i>
1790	757,208	19.3
1800	1,002,037	18.9
1810	1,377,808	19.0
1820	1,771,656	18.4
1830	2,328,642	18.1
1840	2,873,648	16.8
1850	3,630,808	15.7
1860	4,441,830	14.1
1870 ¹	5,392,172	13.5
1880	6,580,793	13.1
1890	7,488,676	11.9
1900	8,833,994	11.6
1910	9,827,763	10.7

These statistics show that while the negro population has increased rapidly, it has not increased so rapidly as the white population; hence it has steadily become a smaller element in our total population. How much this decrease is owing to immigration and how much to the higher mortality of the negro we do not know. In all probability both are responsible. When we take a glance at the location of the negro we find that he for the most part still remains in the Southern states where slavery formerly flourished and that even there he is not holding his own with the white. So while the negro has a much higher birth-rate than the white his higher death-rate more than makes up for it; this is evident, for the Southern states have received practically no foreign immigration and few settlers from the Northern states.

¹For 1870 corrected figures are used instead of those enumerated.

Nearly 90 per cent of the negro population is found in the Southern states, which formerly allowed slavery, and over 80 per cent in the eleven states, which contain that strip of counties stretching from Virginia to Texas, which is known as the "Black Belt". The percentage of negroes to the total population of the fifteen former slave-holding states for the years 1860, 1900, and 1910 are as follows:

<i>States—</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total Population</i>		
	<i>1860</i>	<i>1900</i>	<i>1910</i>
Alabama -----	45.4	43.2	42.5
Arkansas -----	25.6	28.0	28.1
Delaware -----	19.3	16.6	15.4
Florida -----	44.6	43.6	41.0
Georgia -----	44.0	46.7	45.1
Kentucky -----	20.4	13.3	11.4
Louisiana -----	49.5	47.1	43.1
Maryland -----	24.9	19.8	17.9
Mississippi -----	55.3	55.5	56.2
Missouri -----	10.0	5.0	4.8
North Carolina -----	36.4	33.0	31.6
South Carolina -----	58.6	58.4	55.2
Tennessee -----	25.5	23.8	21.7
Texas -----	30.3	20.4	17.7
Virginia -----	42.0	35.7	32.6

Only three states, Arkansas, Georgia, and Mississippi, show an increase in the ratio of black to white, while for the entire fifteen there is a decided decrease. However, the negroes seem to be growing relatively more numerous in the cotton belt along the Mississippi river. There are some counties in this region in which the negro far outnumbers the white; for example, Issequena County, Mississippi, has a population consisting of 10,560 negroes and 611 whites—94.1 per cent negro; Tensas County, Louisiana, has 15,613 negroes and 1,446 whites—91.5 per cent negro; and Tunica County, Mississippi, has 16,910 negroes and 1,728 whites—90.7 per cent negro. In 1860 the negroes equalled or exceeded the whites in 244 counties; in 1910 there were 263 such counties, 187 of which were in the first list. While there has been some change, the region having the densest black population has remained almost the same; *i.e.*, a strip up the Mississippi as far north as Memphis, Tennessee; another strip across Central Alabama, Georgia, nearly all of South Carolina, and a small patch in southern Virginia.

Urban vs. Rural Population. — The following table will show for the year 1910 the relative number and percentages

(D)

of negroes dwelling in urban and rural districts in the different geographical divisions of the United States:¹

<i>Geographical Division</i>	<i>Negro Population</i>		<i>Per Cent Negro Population</i>	
	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
United States -----	7,138,534	2,689,229	72.6	27.4
New England -----	5,439	60,877	8.2	91.8
Middle Atlantic -----	78,624	339,246	18.8	81.2
East North Central -----	70,294	230,542	23.4	76.6
West North Central -----	78,361	164,301	32.3	67.7
South Atlantic -----	3,202,968	909,520	77.9	22.1
East South Central -----	2,143,416	509,097	80.8	19.2
West South Central -----	1,548,588	435,838	78.0	22.0
Mountain -----	6,021	15,446	28.0	72.0
Pacific -----	4,833	24,362	16.6	83.4

In 1910 there were only four cities of over 25,000 population with at least one-half of the population negro. These were Charleston, South Carolina, 52.8 per cent; Savannah, Georgia, 51.1 per cent; Jacksonville, Florida, 50.8 per cent, and Montgomery, Alabama, 50.6 per cent; in none of these is the population over 65,000. Among the more populous cities the following show the greatest ratio of negroes: Memphis, 40 per cent; Birmingham, 39.4 per cent; Richmond, 36.5 per cent; Atlanta, 33.5 per cent; Nashville, 33.1 per cent; Washington, 28.5 per cent, and New Orleans, 26.3 per cent. In the North the negro has gone to the cities, where he has been compelled to occupy the poorest parts since he is able to obtain employment at only the most menial tasks. Thus because of the demoralizing environment he has created quite a problem in the Northern city. In the South the negro has not rushed to the cities but has remained in about an unvarying proportion on the farms. Altho many have moved to small towns there has been no great amount of urban migration. Thru a long period of years, there has been for the nation a slight decrease; but in recent years there is noticed an opposite tendency, the proportion increasing from 2.8 per cent for the decade 1890 to 1900 to 4.7 per cent for the decade 1900 to 1910.

Increase and Distribution of Blacks and Mulattoes.— Under "black" the census enumerators have been instructed to include all who were evidently full-blood negroes, and under "mulatto" those apparently having white blood; in the census for 1890 an attempt was made to classify as

¹*Negro Year Book for 1916-1917*, p. 373.

"black" those having three-fourths or more negro blood and to classify others as "mulattoes", "quadroons", or "octoroons"; this made, however, little actual difference in enumeration. The distribution of blacks and mulattoes is shown by the following table.¹

PERCENTAGE OF BLACKS AND MULATTOES BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS

<i>Geographic Division</i>	1910		1890		1870	
	<i>Black</i>	<i>Mulatto</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Mulatto</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Mulatto</i>
United States -----	79.1	20.9	84.8	15.2	88.0	12.0
New England -----	66.6	33.4	67.3	32.7	71.4	28.6
Middle Atlantic -----	80.4	19.6	78.6	21.4	85.1	14.9
East North Central ----	66.8	33.2	62.8	37.2	70.8	29.2
West North Central ----	71.3	28.7	74.7	25.3	84.0	16.0
South Atlantic -----	79.2	20.8	86.6	13.4	89.4	10.6
East South Central ----	80.9	19.1	86.4	13.6	88.9	11.1
West South Central ----	79.9	20.1	85.5	15.5	86.9	13.1
Mountain -----	71.4	28.6	64.3	35.7	69.6	30.4
Pacific -----	65.3	34.7	57.7	42.3	62.7	37.3

This table shows us two things: that the percentage of mulattoes is increasing and that where there are the fewest negroes the percentage of mulattoes is the highest. The fact that there are more mulattoes in the Northern and Western states in proportion to the number of negroes shows in all probability that it is the mulatto who is restless and who often goes away from home; because he has white blood in his veins he resents his position of social inferiority the more and tries to get away from it. It is the mulatto who generally goes to Northern colleges and gets positions in the North; this is because he has more enterprise and dares to venture away from home. The serious feature of this situation is the increase in the ratio mulatto to black.

There is at present no probability that the negro will catch up in population with the white. If there is any danger at all it is in regard to the increase in number of the mulatto and his recent rush to the city.

Influence of Past History Upon the Negro. — In studying the negro we must take into consideration his past history, not only in America during the period of slavery but also in Africa for thousands of years before he came here. Whether or not the negro differed from other races before he migrated to Africa is not known, but in all probability he did not differ materially from the other inhabitants of Asia Minor.

¹*Negro Year Book*, 1916-1917, p. 366.

The theory is often favored and as frequently denied that the negro owes his dark skin and woolly hair to the effect of the heat of the sun, the heat producing the pigment, which causes the color, to develop under the skin and the hair to curl. Another explanation—and a more plausible one—is that those who had the pigment withstood the heat of the sun better than the persons who were not so protected and thus they survived and increased, while the less protected ones died out; consequently the pigment was thru natural selection universally developed among negroes. A similar explanation is advanced as to the other characteristics of the negro; that for example those had a high birth-rate survived while those who did not perish, the reason being that a high birth-rate was necessary to withstand the high death-rate caused by the climate and the ravages of wild beasts. Those who had large families were those who married early; those groups who treated the women and children well were apt to survive. This tended to develop the strong family affection that exists in the negro and to bring about early marriages and large families. The docility of the negro, his easy-going attitude towards life, and his laziness and indifference to the future are likewise owing to natural selection, for those who were inclined to be nervous and excitable, who took life too seriously, were unable to survive the hot climate; those who took things easy did survive. The negro had no cause for worry as to his food supply; nature, while hard on him in regard to disease and wild beasts, was an abundant provider. Food was plentiful on every hand; so there was no incentive to provide for the future or even to work hard. There was no need of much clothing, merely enough for ornament and for satisfying the claims of modesty—which did not demand much. The same was true of shelter; no great provision had to be made, only protection from rain and beasts being necessary. In short his life tended to develop in the negro an easy-going, care-free disposition. Because food was abundant the negro developed a large physique. But inducements for mental development there were none. Mind is the product of necessity; man thinks only when forced to do so. The negro was not compelled to use much ingenuity or to tax his intellect to any great extent to provide a living; so his mental capacities did not develop. Nature did not select the shrewd or cunning as in the colder climates; thus we find the negro possessing a strong physique

but an inferior intellect. By this we do not mean that potentially the black mind is inferior; but since civilization is the piling up of achievement and since the negro did not achieve like the white man because he was not compelled to do so, he has not acquired any accumulation to compare with that of the white man; hence have resulted his mental inferiority, his ranking below the white in the scale of progress, and his falling a victim to the superior cunning, courage, and fighting ability of the white. For this reason the black has become a subject race while the white has become a ruling race. So in our study of the negro in America we must remember his past history. While he has been removed from the environment that brot about this condition the effects of it are still with him. In Africa he came into contact with a condition of nature which he could not explain; it was awe inspiring and at the same time too complicated for him to master; hence his belief in magic, superstition, and witch-craft. The negro brot these beliefs to America with him and many of them are still believed even today by the majority of the negroes simply because they have been handed down from generation to generation. The negro's contact with civilization has been very recent and then under an artificial condition. It will take him at least hundreds of years, possibly thousands, to catch up completely with the white—if he ever does. At present his past hangs upon him like a great weight.

As a slave the negro learned to work but he did so under compulsion, under conditions which made him hate manual labor. He was made to work whether he wanted to or not. Under slavery, in spite of his dislike for work, he became proficient industrially; many negroes became skilled mechanics, carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, and masons; others became expert as cooks, butlers, coachmen, maids, and laundresses; those working on the cotton plantations became expert in the raising of cotton. In fact each class became economically productive, and when granted his freedom the negro as an economic machine was well equipped. In one way slavery was a good thing for the negro—it taught him to work. Yet it taught him at the same time to hate work.

Slavery, however, affected the negro in other than industrial ways. Family life under slavery was not developed even under the best conditions, for home life was uncertain. Marriages were seldom performed; marriage ties were seldom held sacred; the master could sell a man's wife or a woman's

husband or a parent's child; he could break up the family of his slave at will. Then, too, family ties were not even considered necessary; the masters themselves not only did not protect virtue in their female slaves, but too frequently did not respect it themselves. Hence it is no wonder that the negro not only learned little family morality but also acquired little skill in the training of children. Furthermore because his work was planned for him and his task assigned, he did not acquire self-control and the ability to plan things for himself and to make provision for the future. He did not have these traits developed when he came to America and slavery did not develop them for him. Slavery taught the American negro respect for and deference to the whites; it perhaps developed him physically because in the first place it caused him to go thru a difficult test of survival of the fittest, especially before he reached this country, the weakest falling by the wayside on the trip to the coast or perishing on board ship. The high-strung and independent negroes were also cut down by the slave drivers when they resisted or tried to escape. In this way only the strong and submissive survived.

Possibly the most demoralizing period in the history of the negro was the brief but horrible time of Reconstruction when the carpet-baggers from the North tried to organize the negroes and teach them that they were the equals of the whites, and, by use of their votes, attempted to fill their own pockets at the expense of the Southern whites. These carpet-baggers cared nothing for the negroes; they merely saw in them a means of making money for themselves. The period of Reconstruction aroused the hatred of the South against the North far more than did the war itself; it caused the Southerners to misapprehend the real purpose of the North and to look upon all Northerners as scoundrels. At the same time race friction was increased. During slavery the relations between the average master and slave were very satisfactory in that they were friendly; both master and slave lived on the best of terms. When the carpet-baggers began to organize the negroes and to arouse in them a hatred of their former masters race friction rapidly developed. The reaction of the Southern whites found expression in the Ku Klux Klan and later in the practical disfranchisement of the negroes in most of the Southern states. But from the standpoint of the negro probably the most serious aspect

was that it took him from his work, causing him to leave the cotton field and his other occupations, to loaf in town, and to look down upon manual labor.

Upon emancipation the negro did not educate or train his children to become economically efficient; he did not wish his children to be obliged to work as he had worked. He wanted them to become educated, since in his view education was the key to social position. Instead of teaching them trades he tried to educate them, especially in Northern schools, and consequently the second generation did not attain the economic efficiency of their parents. The slaves had been somewhat trained by the whites, but the younger generation received little if any training; they simply grew up, creating a more serious problem than the preceding generation. Because they were not efficient they could not command good wages; they were not able to provide a good living and so slumped economically. Thirty years after the war the negro was worse off than he was when he was given his freedom, for then he was efficient and the South needed and wanted him. But later he was less efficient and the whites had grown disgusted with him.

Many authorities, among them Professor Mecklin, contend that in the case of the negro the psychological and physiological differences from the white are innate, rather than environmental; that the colored race has certain innate mental as well as physical qualities; that he is characterized by a greater power of memory, stronger sexual passions, submissiveness rather than pugnacity, a larger sense of sociability, and a greater ability to read character and interpret one's thots; that he is essentially emotional in religion; that he has a smaller capacity for group organization and for government; that he is more dependent upon imitation, emotion, and emulation and less upon rational thinking and purposeful direction. The writer admits all these characteristics and the possibility that some of them may be innate; however, he believes that the influences of natural selection and environment are much stronger; hence he has stressed them.

Economic Progress of the Negro. — The economic progress is not so difficult to estimate if we are able to get reliable statistics on the negro today, for he began upon emancipation with practically nothing. A few had gained their freedom before emancipation and had accumulated some property, and the masters of some had started them out with small

farms, but the bulk of the negroes began life upon receiving their freedom at the economic zero point. The Negro Year Book is responsible for the following statistics in regard to the economic progress of the negro:

	1866	1883	1898	1903	1916
Homes owned -----	12,000	128,000	210,000	390,000	600,000
Farms operated -----	20,000	380,000	550,000	790,000	981,000
Businesses conducted --	2,100	10,000	17,000	25,000	45,000
Wealth accumulated ---	\$20,000,000	\$75,000,000	\$150,000,000	\$300,000,000	\$1,000,000,000

This data shows that the negro has steadily increased in economic prosperity until in 1916 he had an average per capita wealth of about \$100. However to ascertain the true significance of this increase we must compare it with the increase for the whole country. In 1860 the average per capita wealth was \$308 and in 1916 about \$2,000. So, while the negro has prospered economically and, because he started with practically nothing, has perhaps increased more in proportion than the white, his actual amassing of wealth has not kept up with that of the country. But the really encouraging feature is the rapid increase shown during the past few years, it more than trebled between 1903 and 1916. Since 1916 it has increased still more because of the economic prosperity of the South, in which he has shared. If the negro continues at this rate of progress it will be only a matter of a few decades until his economic condition will compare much more favorably with that of the white man.

In all probability one of the chief reasons for the recent economic progress of the negro has been the spread of industrial education among the black population. From the industrial schools for the negro comes possibly our greatest promise that instead of the average negro having practically nothing he will become fairly prosperous. When the negro owns property and pays taxes he not only commands greater respect but is in a position to obtain better schools and is in a better position to remove his other problems. Also when the negro is industrious he is less apt to get into trouble.

Immigration has not seriously affected the negro in the South, but it may in the future. In the North the immigrant has driven the negro out of many occupations in much the same manner as he has the whites. He has not done this by underbidding the negro but by greater efficiency; he has crowded the negro out of such occupations as that of barber, waiter, janitor, and bell-boy. This has pushed the negro into

unskilled labor, which requires mere muscle, work which the white man does not want. It is not so much race prejudice as the ability of the white man to do his work better and more rapidly, that has produced this result. The white man is more reliable and more efficient, and because of his capacity to form labor unions he is more powerful economically. Few unions will admit negroes, thus preventing them from entering the ranks of skilled labor, even if they are individually capable of doing so. Immigrants are not so barred and can thus enter the ranks of skilled labor.

Immigration has not as yet affected the South, because the immigrant does not care to compete with the negro, partly because of the low wages in the South and partly because of the fear that he will be placed upon the same social level as the negro. Several Southern states have been attempting to divert a part of the immigrant stream into the South, but thus far they have not been very successful. It is clear, however, that the few immigrants, who have gone to the South, have more than held their own industrially with the negro. Stone¹ tells of an experiment on an Arkansas cotton plantation, in which Italians and negroes were employed side by side on the same plantation; the result was that the Italians produced on the average 2,584 pounds of lint per head, against 1,174 for the negro; that the Italians produced on the average 403 pounds of lint per acre, against 233 pounds for the negroes; that the Italian's average cash product per head was \$277.32, as against \$128.47 for the negro; and that the Italian's cash product per acre was \$44.70, as against \$26.30 for the negro. In this experiment the Italians were at a disadvantage because they were unaccustomed to cotton growing; they even had to be shown which plants were cotton and which were weeds; but in spite of this each Italian worked on an average 6.2 acres against 5.1 for the negro, and produced 170 pounds more lint per acre. The chief difference, however, lay in the supply account, the Italian getting only the things that he absolutely had to have and the negro obtaining all that he could get. The Italian kept his expenses below his income and saved in order to pay for the land, but the negro did not even try to save for next year's supplies, looking upon a cash balance at the end of the year as money to spend or rather to throw away, letting

¹Stone, A. H., "*Studies in the American Race Problem*", pp. 180-195.

next year's crop take care of itself. The Italian bought for cash where he could do so at a discount, even offering to pay his rent in advance if given a discount. Of course he bought things cheaper than did the negro, who as a rule pays the highest prices for everything that he buys. If similar experiments are tried thruout the South with the same result, it will only be a question of time until the immigrant becomes a serious competitor of the negro in the South, with possibly even more disastrous results than in the North, because it is the more enterprising negro who goes to the North. On this account the Southern negro will be even less able to compete than his Northern brother altho climate will be in favor of the negro, as well as the habit and preference of the Southern white to employ the negro. If immigration is thus turned towards the South it will greatly increase the negro problem, for it will add industrial discrimination to social ostracism. The unreliability of the negro is his greatest handicap. His shiftlessness and improvidence will cause him to lose to the immigrant wherever they come into contact. This is the cause of his being obliged to pay higher prices and to work under harder terms of contract than he otherwise would be able to command.

The migratory habits of the negro hinder him economically. The plantation owner never knows how many of this year's tenants he will have next year. The employer of negro labor never knows how many of today's laborers will appear for work tomorrow. The Southern railroads have made use of this habit of the negroes by arranging frequent excursions; thus they help to pay dividends. Circuses and amusement companies also take advantage of his love of amusement and change.

In opposition to this threatened competition of the immigrant is the movement to train the negro industrially; to teach men trades and scientific farming, and to teach the women how to keep house and cook—to be, in short, efficient economically. If this movement increases with sufficient rapidity to discourage immigration, it will help to solve the economic situation. The Southern white would much prefer negro labor to that of white if the negro were as efficient. The negro, too, is better adapted to the climate, especially in the cotton belt, and has this advantage over the white. But at present the negro has not the monopoly upon the

labor, especially the skilled labor, in the South which he had at the close of the Civil War.

Under the present conditions the negro generally rents his land instead of owning it; he usually rents it on shares, the white owner furnishing the land, tools, and seed; and the negro, the labor; then the two share the crop, ordinarily one-half and one-half. In addition the white generally advances supplies, which are to be paid for at harvest time from the negro's share. If the negro rents land not under plantation management, he gets his supplies advanced to him by a merchant or cotton factor, in the manner and to the amount that his credit entitles him. Because of the ignorance and poor bargaining position of the negro he is often the victim of fraudulent bookkeeping, but with most of them such a system is almost necessary. The exceptional negro who has good credit can get cash advances or can rent at a definite cash rental, and if he is honest and industrious, he can soon, because of the richness of the soil, become independent. In fact much of the land is so rich, especially along the Mississippi river, that it will make a crop in spite of the negligence of the negro, and it is for this reason that the negro is able to have advances made to him. But as yet few have become independent; they prefer to spend their money on excursions, picnics, gambling, whiskey, women, and cheap jewelry. Such is the condition in the cotton belt. It is just such conditions as this that the followers of Booker T. Washington are trying to overcome by making the negro industrially efficient.

Negro Education. — The educational progress has been more rapid and the results more satisfactory than the economic progress of the negro; yet there is endless opportunity for improvement. The *Negro Year Book* is again drawn upon for the following statistics in regard to the educational progress of the negro.¹

	1863	1883	1903	1916
Per Cent Literate.....	5	30	56	75
Number Colleges and				
Normal Schools	4	120	425	500
Students in Public Schools..	10,000	817,000	1,577,000	1,736,000
Teachers in all Schools.....	150	16,000	28,600	36,900
School Property for				
Higher Education	\$ 50,000	\$7,000,000	\$15,000,000	\$21,500,000
Expend. for Education.....	200,000	5,500,000	10,000,000	14,600,000
Raised by Negroes for Educ.	10,000	500,000	900,000	1,600,000

¹*Year Book* 1913-1914, pp. 2-4; 1916-1917, p. 1.

The most noticeable improvement has been in the increase of the percentage of literacy. The amount of money spent in negro education and the amount of money invested in school property have kept pace with the increase in the number of pupils. Yet the amount of money raised by the negroes themselves in proportion to that raised by the whites is still very small, altho the ratio is steadily becoming greater. In a few sections of the South the negroes are supplementing by subscription the funds appropriated for negro schools. If, however, we compare the amount of money spent on each negro in the public schools, we shall find it small in comparison to the amount spent on the white child. In one way we cannot blame the white voters for not appropriating more for negro schools, because the whites pay about 97 per cent of the taxes. Yet, as Page says,¹ an uneducated negro is a greater problem than an educated one. He is more affected by crime, vice, and poverty.

Two great difficulties confront negro education; lack of efficient teachers and lack of equipment. It is impossible to get whites to teach in negro schools in appreciable numbers because of the attendant social ostracism. Then it is hardly advisable to employ white teachers anyway for negro children because of its possible tendency towards social equality. Until very recently there have been few capable negro teachers, for upon emancipation only a small percentage of the negroes were even literate, and in the past many of the negro teachers have been scarcely better than literate, being barely able to read and write. With time this problem will be eliminated. As a rule any sort of shack is considered good enuf for the negro school, and benches of any style or stage of delapidation sufficient for equipment. Even the pay of the teachers has been so poor that it has not attracted even the best prepared negroes; until this condition is remedied we cannot expect good teachers. Another hindrance is the short session, often lasting only from three to five months in a year—sometimes only a few weeks. The result is that negro education is by no means so efficient as it might be.

During slavery, education of the negro was not fostered; in fact it was forbidden by law in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina, and discouraged in all other Southern states for fear that education would foster dissatisfaction

¹Page, Thomas Nelson, "*The Negro, the Southerner's Problem*", p. 297.

among the negroes in regard to their position. The household servants were frequently taught the rudiments of an education, enuf at least to enable them to discharge their duties efficiently. The field hands were not so fortunate, however, and were seldom educated to any extent.

During the period of Reconstruction educators went to the South from the North, influenced by missionary zeal, to help educate the negro. While fired by the same missionary spirit which has sent missionaries to the foreign field they probably caused more harm than they did good. These teachers too frequently tried to teach the negro social equality, even practicing it by mingling and associating with the negroes themselves. They also tried to teach the negro too many of the frills of education, like Latin and Greek, instead of giving him the education which he could use in his everyday life. This caused negro education to become discredited in the eyes of the Southern whites, who paid the taxes, and as a result money was not voted for negro schools. It has only been since the education of the negro has been conducted along practical lines that the whites of the South have taken an interest in it. At first the funds were raised in the North, largely as missionary money. During the last few years practical courses have been offered in negro schools, especially the high schools, including the industrial subjects and domestic science. Under the latter are included not only cooking and sewing, but the canning and preserving of fruits and vegetables.

The whole modern trend of negro education for the negroes is away from higher education fitting for the professions, entry to which is difficult for the negro, if not impossible. The aim is, instead, to fit for actual industrial life and efficient home keeping by the teaching of trades. These include carpentering, bricklaying, masonry, paper-hanging, blacksmithing, dairying, and agriculture, thus fitting the negro for a place in life where he can become economically prosperous. The demand for negro doctors, lawyers, dentists, and other professional classes is, however, slowly increasing, altho as yet the negroes themselves prefer the white professional man because of their greater confidence in his professional ability. As this demand increases greater opportunities will be opened up for the negro along these lines. In the past many negroes have obtained college and professional training in Northern colleges and universities and have been unable to make use

of this training because of the lack of a demand for their services.

In the Northern states, because of the small number of negroes and the less acute feeling, there have been no separate schools, except in one or two states like Missouri, and a few towns, such as Kansas City, Kansas, the negroes have enjoyed the same educational opportunities, but have not had the same opportunities for making use of that education. In the South, however, the education of the negro is an aspect of the race question, which is quite serious. But recently there seems to be not only greater response on the part of the negro but also greater appreciation on the part of the white, and as a result much greater progress is being made. If the negro can increase his economic prosperity, negro education can be easily improved.

The Political Condition.—Under slavery the negro of course had no political rights other than protection against abuse, and even here his rights were very limited. It was a crime wilfully to kill a slave but not to flog him, and in most states to kill him accidentally or to maltreat him was not a punishable offence. The law protected him much the same as today it protects animals from cruelty. As to voting privileges he had none in the South¹ and but few in the North; in fact out of the thirty-four states which made up the Union in 1861, thirty excluded negroes from the right of franchise by constitutional provision; in the other four—New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts—the negroes were not only few in number but of a very high standard of education and industry.

By the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States the American people committed probably the worst political blunder in the history of this country. This amendment was adopted in order to give the negro the right to defend himself by means of the ballot. But the negro was unable to appreciate the value and significance of the ballot; as a result he was merely the tool of corrupt politicians. This fact explains the prevalence of so much corruption during the period of Reconstruction; the majority of the whites were disfranchised because of taking part in the Civil War against the Federal government, and

¹There were a few exceptions to this; free negroes could vote in North Carolina up until 1835.

the right of the ballot was held by the ignorant negro who had no idea of how to use it. This increased race friction and probably injured the negro as much as it did the white; in fact it is an open question which of the two has been injured the more by the Fifteenth Amendment. So acute was the problem and so great the abuse of the ballot by the negro that the Southern whites were compelled to take steps to deprive him of it. This deprivation took two forms; force or intimidation, and political disfranchisement. At first violence and fraud were used openly because it was deemed that the situation warranted such action. This condition lasted until 1890, when Mississippi took the first step towards the disfranchisement of the negro by adopting a literacy test for voters. While this applied to both colored and white voters, it affected the colored chiefly because of their greater illiteracy. Other states went still further, following the lead of Louisiana, and adopted the so-called "grandfather" clauses, making the privilege of voting dependent upon the ability to read and write, unless one was a lineal descendant of one who voted prior to 1867. Other states require the payment of taxes; Georgia by a cumulative poll-tax law, which requires back poll-taxes to be paid, has probably the most effective disfranchisement clauses, altho there is no discrimination between black and white. In Tennessee the prepayment of a poll-tax is necessary for voting, and as a result the bulk of the negroes do not vote, considering it not worth the payment of the tax. Texas also has a poll-tax qualification for voting, requiring the presentation of a poll-tax receipt at the polls; in addition to this Texas has a white man's primary. Some of these clauses have been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States, because technically they do not violate the Fifteenth Amendment, but the "grandfather" clauses of the constitutions of Oklahoma and Maryland have been declared unconstitutional and some of the other state qualifications have expired because of time limitations. While these laws very effectively debar most negroes from voting, the negro can qualify under all of them; in fact it would probably be impossible to frame a test acceptable to the Supreme Court which some of the negroes could not ultimately meet.

On the whole the effect of these disfranchisement clauses has been good, for they have disfranchised the ignorant, shiftless, and irresponsible negro, whose ballot was a corrupting

element in politics. Altho they have undoubtedly debarred in one way or another many who are able to vote intelligently, they have had in the main a beneficial effect. However, any law, such as the Louisiana law, which does not apply equally to both races is not a fair and just law. If the negro is disfranchised it ought to be by a method which would apply to both races, such as a literacy test, a property qualification, or a tax-paying requirement. These provisions are as effective as the others and eliminate the vote of the ignorant and shiftless white as well as that of the ignorant and shiftless negro. If the country comes to the conclusion that the Fifteenth Amendment was a mistake, that amendment should be repealed as a whole rather than nullified by state legislation. If the negro can qualify the same as the white for voting he thus gives a sign that he is worthy of the ballot. One bad feature of the application of the literacy test to the negro alone is that it supplies a reason to the white politician for not giving the negro so good educational facilities as are given the white; in other words it tends to discourage negro education, for the chief political aim is to eliminate not only the ignorant negro vote but also the entire negro vote. On the whole the granting of suffrage to the negro has been a complete failure. The ballot should not have been given to the negroes as a race but if it was to have been given to them at all, it should have been held out to them as an inducement for progress by being granted gradually, that is as soon as they qualified for it by being able to read and write, by holding a certain amount of property, or by the payment of taxes. Then as soon as they qualified, they would have known how to use the voting power and would not have formed a dangerous element in politics; they would have gained suffrage gradually, not in sufficient numbers to control politics.

Negro Problems. — 1. *Poverty and Pauperism.* — Under economic progress we have considered the poor economic condition of the negro, with the causes which produced it and some of the effects upon other phases of the race problem. We saw that the negroes as a class possess little property, and that the bulk of the negroes are not far removed from absolute dependence, and as a result fall easily into pauperism. We have reliable statistics as to the exact or even approximate amount of pauperism among the colored people. In the South the most of the paupers are negroes; in fact,

in some sections nearly all the paupers are colored. In Charleston it is asserted that 96 per cent of the pauper funerals are the funerals of negroes, altho the negroes make up only 53 per cent of the population. This condition is only the natural result of the indolence, shiftlessness, ignorance, and untrained condition of the negro. The low standard of living of the negro is the most serious aspect of the situation for pauperism is only an inevitable outgrowth of this. The negro is contented to live on a much lower plane than the white because he has not as yet fully realized the need of living on a higher one. There is also less incentive to reach this higher state on account of few opportunities he has for advancement. The economic standard of living must be raised before the present poverty-stricken condition of the negro can be prevented; to raise this standard the negro must become industrially more productive and efficient.

2. *Crime.*—In order to draw a comparison between the criminal tendency of the white and colored races let us take a glance at the following table, based upon figures of the U. S. Census Bureau:

	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Negroes</i>
Prisoners in 3,198 prisons in 1910.....	172,797	38,701
Commitments to these prisons in 1910.....	368,468	110,319
Prisoners to 100,000 population, 1910.....	89	378
Commitments to 100,000 population, 1910.....	425	1,079

This ratio of crime for the negro is much greater in the Northern states than in the Southern, there being in 1910 722 prisoners per 100,000 in the former against 323 for the latter. This is owing in part to the greater temptation in the Northern states caused by the living in cities, industrial ostracism of the negroes, and the larger ratio of mulattoes, who are much more addicted to crime than the pure negro. Then added to this is the lack of sympathy on the part of the Northern judge, who does not understand negro nature and is less inclined to let him off with a reprimand or upon his promise to go to work. The Southern white is much more ready to go bail for his negro employees than is the Northerner. In short the Southerner knows the weaknesses of the negro and makes allowance for them. The higher rate of negro criminality is not so alarming as it seems, because a large percentage of it is made up of petty crimes, such as petty larceny, disorderly conduct, crap shooting, etc. The greater tendency towards theft is a natural outcome of the

past history of the negro. Under slavery if he obtained any extras, such as food delicacies, he had to steal them, and it is only natural that the negro should continue. Also in Africa stealing never was considered a serious offence. In certain sections of the South, especially the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta region, serious crimes play a more important part; in fact, Stone estimates that crimes against the person, such as murder, manslaughter, and attempt to kill, make up 80 per cent of the offences of the Delta negroes.¹

This unfavorable criminal condition is caused largely by poor training, especially in the family, owing to defective family conditions among the colored people, these resulting, as we have previously noted, from the past history of the negro. A part of it moreover can be traced to the less satisfactory surroundings of the negro, especially in our cities, for the negro nearly always occupies the poorest part of the town, not only in regard to sanitation and pleasantness of location but also in regard to improvements. Poor education, especially industrial, is also responsible for a large share. Thus the environmental factors are much more conducive to the committing of crime by the negro than by the white man. The forces holding back the negro from crime are weaker and the temptations confronting him are much greater; therefore it is only reasonable to expect the colored man to have a higher rate of criminality than his white brother.

Lynching is a phase of negro criminality, more damaging, however, to the reputation of the white man than to that of the negro. It began with the whipping of negroes for minor offences, such as stealing, running away, etc., before the time of emancipation. Since then more cruel methods have come into use, until hanging and burning at the stake have come to be the favorite methods of execution. The statement is often made that lynching is for the one crime rape, but such is not the case, and in fact such an assertion is far from the truth, for less than one-fourth of the lynching of negroes is for assaults upon women. Also lynchings are not limited to the colored race, nor are they confined to the Southern states. Of the sixty-seven persons lynched in 1915 (thirteen of whom were white and fifty-four colored), eleven (ten colored and one white), were charged with rape; sixteen (four white and twelve colored), with murder; nine (three white

¹Stone, "*Studies in the American Race Problem*", p. 106.

and six colored), killing officers of the law; three wounding officers of the law; a family of four—father, son, and two daughters, with clubbing an officer of the law; three, poisoning mules; two, stealing hogs; two (white), disregarding warnings of night riders; three, insulting women; two entering women's rooms; two, wounding a man; one, stealing meat; two, burglary; one, robbery; one, stealing cotton; one, charged with stealing a cow; two, furnishing ammunition to man resisting arrest; one, (white) beating wife and child; one, charged with being accessory to the burning of a barn.¹ All these crimes deserved punishment, but hardly lynching. With the crime of rape, especially under the revolting circumstances which sometimes attend it there is possibly some excuse for the taking of law into one's own hands; at least the temptation is terribly strong, and we might excuse people for losing control of themselves under such conditions. But the sudden and extreme punishment by lynching of the other crimes seems to have no justification whatever. To be sure the action of the law is often slow and sometimes justice miscarries but law enforcement should be improved, not nullified by ultra-legal measures. Instances have happened where prisoners convicted by law and waiting the execution of the death penalty have been taken from the hands of the law and lynched. But the unfortunate thing about lynching is that it does not stop the crime which it intends to punish; in fact it often increases crime by advertising it and—what is still worse—brutalizes the community. Often officers of the law are too cowardly or too biased to defend their prisoners; so they surrender them without protest or defense. Lynching has caused negroes as a rule to hide the guilty person and to sympathize with him, rather than to give him up. They look upon lynching as an attack upon the race, rather than as punishment of the individual. Among many suggested remedies are segregation of the colored race and speedier trials. Both of these would help, but the problem is a difficult one and in order that lynching may be completely stopped, sentiment against it must be created; it is a disgrace to our country. Altho there has been a temporary increase since the war, the problem is not nearly so bad as formerly; fewer than half as many are lynched as there were twenty-five years ago, the numbers fluctuating now between fifty and

¹*Negro Year Book*, 1916-17, p. 338.

seventy-five, while in the 90's the annual average was 166.6; but the chief decrease has been in the lynching of white men, altho the number of colored persons lynched has decreased about 50 per cent. So in time we may outlive this horrible result of race friction.

3. *Immorality and Vice.*—No reliable statistics can be given concerning immorality and vice altho some statisticians have attempted to show that between one-fourth and one-fifth of births among the negroes are illegitimate. Immorality flourishes among the colored population far more than among the white, not only because of the conditions existing among the negroes during the times of slavery, but also because of their past history in Africa, where the climate tended to the preservation of those with a high birth-rate and thus caused the negro to inherit stronger passions than the white man. These, joined with his weaker will power and greater temptation under present conditions, naturally produce higher rates of irregularity and vice.

4. *The Mulatto.*—The mulatto problem is not only serious but also pathetic. It is the mulatto who causes most trouble, for the full-blooded negro generally accepts his position of inferiority without much objection. The mulatto is less submissive, for he usually combines the nervous energy of his white father with the physique of his colored mother; all too frequently the degenerate blood of some of the best families in America flows in his veins. The leading colored men have nearly always a certain amount of white blood; biologically the crossing of the strains as a rule has a beneficial effect; from a physiological standpoint the mixing of the colored and the white races is no exception. But the trouble comes in regard to the mulatto's social standing for we cannot accept him on the social plane of the white. He must accept the social conditions of the negro ancestor, and frequently he is too high-spirited to do this; so friction results. Besides it is the reckless and immoral element of the white population that mingles with the negro, for the mulatto is in nearly all cases illegitimate, very seldom being the result of wedlock. Strange as it may seem, many white slave-owners cohabited with their female slaves and, still stranger, white youths of all classes of society in the Southern states, even to this day, sometimes have that nothing of such a condition. Of course these relations are more frequently with the colored women who have some white blood; it is said that

a good-looking mulatto girl is not safe from white molestation. As a natural result the heredity of the mulatto is not conducive to good morals, and the training simply encourages this situation. Then ostracism is attached to the mulatto, even by members of the colored race, because of the fact that he is generally illegitimate; this ostracism from without added to his superior intellect and nervous force makes him reckless, and his degenerate heredity tends to drive him to excesses; so he is much harder to handle socially than is the full-blooded negro. One very sad phase of this situation is the fact that the percentage of those of mixed blood is steadily increasing. This possibly may be due to the fact that the white blood is gradually becoming disseminated thruout the entire colored population. But on the whole the mixture of races is one of the most serious aspects of the whole negro problem. At present we have found no way in which to cope with it.

Can the Negro Problem Be Solved? Proposed Solutions. — As far as solution or any definite constructive plan of action is concerned, the American race problem is in all likelihood the most difficult one facing the student of sociology, for we are obliged to admit that as far as can be seen now the problem is insoluble. At best it can only be alleviated, the race friction made less keen and the dangers less threatening, and the rough spots smoothed to some extent. But even here there is no uniformity of opinion; the differences depend largely upon the section of country which the student calls his home.

1. Impossible Solutions. — Before we take up any plan of action worthy of serious consideration we must discard certain plans as antagonistic to our social welfare, among which are the following:

(1). *Absorption.* — It is argued sometimes that since the negroes compose only one-tenth of our population we could in time absorb them by intermarriage; it is also added that the crossing of the races would be advantageous. We may admit that the crossing might not be disadvantageous physiologically—altho the writer personally doubts it—but we simply cannot bear the thot of becoming a mulatto race, and that is what we should come to if we followed this plan. For if we apply the principles of Mendelism to the crossing of the white and the colored races, we find that the ratio of blacks would remain the same, and because of the greater birth-rate of blacks they would even be constantly catching

up. Then in addition many of the negro characteristics, such as woolly hair, thick lips and flat nose, are dominant characteristics and would tend to predominate. We should simply become a hopelessly mixed race.

(2). *Equality*. — The question is brot up: Why not give the negro social and political equality? The answer is: The races are not equal; the white race has back of it thousands of years of achievement and civilization, and no legislation can make the two races equal. Then, too, social equality would lead to intermarriage, else it would not be equality. This would be disastrous, for we cannot absorb the negro; so we must reject any plan which leads towards attempted absorption. This plan is not offered by anyone who is at all familiar with the negro problem.

(3). *Colonization*. — A plan of colonization was advocated by Thomas Jefferson and has often been proposed by various men since that time. It has been opposed in the past on grounds of expense. Now it is impossible because we should be unable to find any place to send the negroes. The various parts of the world have been taken over by the different nations, and we have no possessions of our own which are suitable for the purpose. At one time this plan would perhaps have been the best method of dealing with the problem, but that time has long since passed; in fact it probably had passed before colonization was even seriously considered.

2. Possible Solutions. — (1). *Industrial Education*. — The most plausible, and certainly the most workable, solution—if we can call any program a solution—is that of industrial education. This was the plan originated at Hampton but popularized by the late Booker T. Washington, who built up Tuskegee so successfully upon this idea. Washington argues that under present conditions the attempt to give higher education to the negroes is misdirected energy, because the negro can make no practical use of this form of education. The only sensible way to educate the negro, he said, is to educate his hands, so he can become industrially efficient and economically independent. With economic independence the negro would gain the respect of the white man; consequently race friction would diminish. If the negro could produce he would receive good wages and therefore would be able to make better provision for his family. Thus the standard of living of the negro would rise. Other schools have been founded upon this plan and it is now receiving

wide support. The most of the Southern states have established state mechanical and industrial colleges and normal schools for the colored people. In addition there are a large number of smaller private institutions; Alabama, for example, in 1916 had twenty-eight. Under industrial education the negroes would be able to become efficient as farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths, bricklayers, wheelwrights, plasterers, machinists, plumbers, tailors, printers, cooks, etc., and thus they would be able to build a foundation for future progress.

(2). *Segregation*. — Another proposed solution is segregation, that is, the separation of negroes from whites, in order that each race may live unmolested by the other. There is, however, considerable difference of opinion in regard to the best form of segregation; whether segregation shall be by states, by counties, by towns, or only by different sections of the same town. Each of these plans offers peculiar advantages and difficulties. With state segregation the first problem would be as to what state or states would be chosen; then what steps would be taken to keep the negroes in and the whites out. This plan is objected to on the ground that the negroes when separated from the whites lose the inspiration of their presence and quickly sink into barbarism. The present condition in Liberia, Haiti, and Santo Domingo is given as proof of this. The same arguments are valid in a less degree in regard to country and township segregation; at the same time the advantages which would be derived amount to less. If the negroes are herded into certain sections of counties or towns, these sections are the least desirable and do not receive the same improvements as the white sections; the result would be the formation of slum districts. Moreover this is the condition which practically prevails today, for the colored people as a rule live in definite sections of towns; these sections are unkept, unsanitary, and unsafe; they are responsible to a large degree for the present amount of poverty, crime, and immorality found among the negroes. In fact it is argued that this is the very condition from which we wish to escape. Against the whole question of segregation the argument is advanced that the South needs the negro and the negro needs the South; that the white man needs the negro to work for him and the negro needs the white man to claim that segregation need not be rapid or even arbitrary, but that voluntarily and gradually the negroes should be encouraged to move into districts by themselves and the whites should

be encouraged to move out of these districts. The difficulty with such a solution is the question whether it ever would be carried out unless it was made compulsory; if made thus drastic it would cause much hardship and bitterness. While segregation may ultimately be the solution it is at present chiefly a matter of theory.

(3). *Caste*. — A caste system is the viewpoint of the average Southerner and the practice at present in the South. It is based upon the belief in the inferiority of the negro as a race; that he is only halfway between the animals and the white man; that in consequence he is fitted by nature only to be a servant and to do the rougher, heavier work of the world; that he never will be able to catch up with the white man, and because of this, social equality—or any policy which would tend towards absorption—is impossible, and therefore the only way to treat the negro is to treat him as an inferior, allowing him to mingle with the white man but not as an equal; and that the white man needs him for this purpose in order to devote his time to higher endeavors. At present this is probably the only attitude that we can take towards the negro where he exists in any great numbers, but it is by no means a solution; it is the very condition which we are attempting to solve. We constantly hear the remark, “keep the negro in his place”, and according to the caste idea that place is beneath the white man. Absorption or amalgamation of any kind is impossible and the negro must be kept in his place; but that place need not necessarily be beneath the feet of the white man. The black may be allowed as far as his abilities permit, to carve out his own place, provided that place is distinct and separate from that of the white man. But under present conditions of colored inferiority, mental, moral, and industrial, the caste viewpoint is almost the only attitude we can take towards the negro—that is a sane and sensible caste attitude; but as a permanent solution it is impossible, for it does not remove the present difficulties.

(4). *Local Option*. — A local option plan is offered by Thomas Nelson Page when he suggests that since there are as many problems as there are communities, let each community work out its own salvation. On the whole this is a sane way of looking at the matter, yet the question arises, will every community solve its race problem? Is the average community able to do so wisely? Certainly this plan is not

radical and will cause no commotion but the question is whether it will do anything.

(5). *Compound Solution.*—To the writer not one separate method seems practicable. Any plan of action which is at all effective must embody the best elements of all of these previously discussed. The first step under our present conditions is undoubtedly industrial education, in order to make the negro more efficient and able to produce more economically. To do this we should increase both in number and effectiveness such schools as Tuskegee and Hampden, provide them all over the South, and compel the colored children to attend them in the same manner that we compel white children to go to our schools. This will make the negro efficient, so that he will have no cause to fear an immigrant invasion of the South. Also it will enable him to increase his wealth and raise his standard of living and in this way solve many of his problems.

As a second step gradual segregation should be encouraged, not only in towns and counties but possibly even in states. Gradually encourage the negro to move into those regions best adapted to him, such as the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta region. As soon as the negro is efficient and worthy of it and outnumbers the whites in any district he might have a share in the government, at least in that government which comes into contact with the negro population. This would hasten the moving out of the whites and the moving in of the negroes. As efficiency and race pride develop, the negro will desire to be by himself and will speed this movement.

Then as soon as the negro can make use of it, encourage higher education that he may provide his own doctors, lawyers, ministers, and teachers. At present there is a growing demand among the colored people for their own dentists, doctors, lawyers, and teachers. They have always had their own ministers but the demand now is for trained ministers. As segregation increases, this demand will increase. Then the negro will be not only industrially self-sufficient but also professionally independent and will be able to work out his own salvation. As he becomes educated and self-reliant and has a definite field of action, race friction will tend to diminish, for the white will not fear him but will respect him the more, and the negro will not feel his own inferiority but will attempt to work out his own problems. Along with this there will develop race pride, admiration for the negro characteristics,

and a final separation of the races. This plan is not offered as the only solution but merely suggested as a possible program. It is probably visionary, in fact probably impracticable, at least for a long time, but if any such thing as a solution of the negro problem is possible it must be worked out on some such lines; that is it must be a compound solution, and must embody the best features of all the other plans. At present the difficulty seems almost insurmountable and at best capable only of alleviation or prevention of increase.

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PART THREE
EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS



CHAPTER IX

EVOLUTION OF THE FAMILY

The Family a Social Unit. — The primary function of the family, in fact, the leading reason for its existence — has always been to bring children into the world and to rear them. The protecting of the offspring by the parents is, however, a function not confined to man but is one found among practically all the higher animals. Many animals even so train their young as to make them able to cope with life and to care for themselves. This training, to be sure, is generally given by only one parent — the mother — but this fact is true also of man in the earlier stages of his existence. But from this primary function of reproduction and protection there have sprung other functions until the family has become a social center and, as many sociologists assert, the unit of society. This phase of family life has become so prominent that many people look with alarm upon the present-day tendency for the family to lose some of its importance as a social center. The family has been likewise the center of intellectual and moral instruction. Formerly these phases were much more important than they are today, for the family has given over much of this responsibility to other agencies.

Almost all of the interests, customs, and problems of society fall back upon the family. Division of labor originated in the family with the division between man and woman. Even nowadays the occupation one chooses depends largely upon the occupation of one's parent and upon home training. It is the same with religion; one is likely to follow the religious views of one's parents. Moreover we find that this has always been the custom, and that it was even more effectively so in the past than in modern times. Formerly the father was the family priest; ancestor worship followed consequently; then belief in spirits followed. Property today descends thru the family, and has nearly always done so, altho at first it descended thru the female line rather than the male. The



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especially protected. Fishes and lower forms of life are protected by a heavy birth rate, thousands of eggs being laid at a time. As the species rises in the scale of life the number of offspring decreases but the care of the parents for the young increases. If the animal is helpless at birth, as is the case with birds, the parents look after the young. Man has a very low birth-rate as compared with most animals and the period of infancy is greatly prolonged; so care by the parents is absolutely necessary. In addition the mother is especially helpless at the period of childbirth and needs the protection of the male. This argument, which we may call biological necessity for the lack of a better name, is strongly against the existence of any general state of promiscuity.

Whether there ever was such a period as the horde, in which either promiscuity or a modified form of monogamy prevailed, is not and probably never will be definitely known. Whatever the conditions were, the family ties could not have been very strong at that time; but as man progressed they became stronger. The father also grew to feel a responsibility, at least in part, in the rearing of the children and so came to contribute more and more towards their support. As the races began to settle down, this trend developed a period generally known as matriarchy or woman rule, in regard to which there is likewise a considerable difference of opinion, both as to its length and importance.

II. Matriarchy. — 1. *Different Views on This Subject.* — Bachofen, who is generally given the credit of the authorship of this theory, considered that there was once a period, indefinite in length, during which woman ruled. Some writers, including the late Professor Ward, go so far as to say that woman ruled because she was the stronger of the two physically, and that she ruled until she lost this superiority of physique. Others on the contrary deny that there ever was such a period. However, practically all the leading authorities today recognize some form of matriarchy, altho no two definitely agree, and no one is altogether clear in his account of this period. Some think that the period was a long one, lasting possibly thousands of years; others that it was comparatively short; and still others that it was only a transitional stage, and in many races skipped entirely.

At any rate there was a period in which mother right prevailed and during which kinship was traced thru the female.

This was largely ascribable to the fact that the mother had more to do with the rearing of the offspring than the father. Besides the father was not always known; and even when he was known, his connection with child birth was not clearly understood, because of ignorance of the laws of reproduction, pregnancy being among some peoples attributed to magic or to some superhuman power. Also at this time the father was a hunter and roamer, while the mother had a more or less definite place of abode. Naturally, then she ruled the children and had influence over the grown daughters till they married, and to some extent over the grown sons; from this fact there grew a measure of deference to the female. But at this period in the world's history no such thing as political government had developed; so woman could not have ruled in the sense Bachofen meant.

2. *Polyandry*. — Polyandry, the possession by one woman of more than one husband, developed as a system under matriarchy, just as polygyny, the marriage of one man to more than one woman, developed under the later period of patriarchy. Sometimes a woman would have more than one suitor, especially in countries where there was a scarcity of women a situation brot about by infanticide, or by conditions of living which made it impossible for one man to support a wife—and she would practice polyandry. This system did not, however, become universal because of the almost equal number of individuals in the two sexes; in fact it has been rather the exception. Yet it has survived even to the present among a few peoples and is found in Ceylon, Tibet, and Assam.

Howard divides polyandry into two types: (1) The Nair type, in which the wife lives with her mother or brothers and is free to choose her husbands or lovers, who need not be related to each other. Kinship is traced thru the female line, and property descends in the same fashion. "No Nair knows his father and every man looks upon his sister's children as his heirs." In a transitional stage the wife has a home of her own, cohabiting with her husbands according to fixed rules. Generally each lives with her a certain set period at the end of which he gives way to the next man. This is easily managed when all the husbands live in the same village, but if they come from separate localities they sometimes

¹Howard, "*History of Matrimonial Institutions*", quoting from Buchanan.

become confused in regard to dates, in which case trouble is liable to ensue. (2). The Tibetan type, which is considered a higher form. The wife lives in the home of her husbands, who are usually brothers. The eldest brother generally chooses the wife and claims as his all the children.

Among the Todas of India monogamy and polyandry exist side by side. A man may choose his own wife and pay the dower to her parents; or, with the consent of all parties, his brothers may participate in the marriage, each one contributing his share of the dower. In either case property and kinship are traced thru the male line. McLennan believed that the Tibetan type was quite common but it is not so considered today.

3. *Inheritance in Matriarchy.*—As a rule inheritance, like kinship, was traced thru the female. This however, has not been universal, differing with the various tribes under divergent conditions. As civilization progresses we find a tendency toward descent thru the male.

4. *Economic Argument in Regard to Matriarchy.*—Another condition that we find accompanying matriarchy is that it appears strongest as a system in the countries where the work of the women is economically more important than the work of men—countries which are adapted to agriculture rather than hunting or fishing or pastoral life. Because as a mere laborer woman produces more she is naturally more important than man and so has the more to say in regard to the life of the family. But as soon as animals are domesticated for use in agriculture and slave labor is utilized, the tables are turned, for man is better adapted to train animals and to manage slaves and servants. In countries adapted to hunting and fishing or pastoral life man always has been the leader, for under such circumstances his work has been the more productive. For this reason we find that in some countries the period of matriarchy was long and important while in others it was short and unimportant and in some cases passed over entirely.

Along the same line we find that polygyny is more apt to prevail in countries where food is abundant and polyandry where living is desperately hard. In countries where neither extreme prevails and property and opportunity are more equally divided monogamy is apt to be the general rule.

5. *Exogamy and Endogamy.*—These two customs have no special connection with matriarchy but because they devel-

oped during the same period they may be considered here. Endogamy, or the compelling of one to marry within one's group, is of comparatively slight importance. It principally took the form of group marriages, a certain group of men marrying with a certain group of women. These groups were usually composed of brothers or sisters or those closely related. In such groups each man had a preferential right to one woman and a secondary right to every other woman.

The general practice, however, has always been exogamy, or the compelling of a man to go outside of his or her group for a partner. This system is maintained today among all civilized races by forbidding the marriage of near relatives. It results from the necessity of preventing degeneracy and, according to Westermarck, from the universal horror of incest. It is almost as universal among savage tribes as it is in civilized groups. Among some tribes in Central Australia the tribe is divided into two classes; the man is then compelled to choose his wife from the opposite class. The Kamilaroi, aborigines of Australia, are divided into six gentes, each of which being named after an animal. Formerly members of the first three could marry only into the last three, but later custom grew more lax and inter-marriage is allowed into any gens except one's own. Descent is traced thru the female line, giving the children to the gens of the mother. This condition has been found among nearly all the American Indians but especially among the Iroquois, who furnish us the best example of such a system. The Iroquois or Six Nations, as they were frequently called, were divided into eight gentes, which took the names of animals. Not all of these gentes, however, were represented in each tribe. Each individual had to go outside of his own gens to marry, and as among the Australians, descent was at first traced thru the female. The male went to live in the gens of his wife, where he, except in rare cases, was looked upon as an outsider; he very often had little influence in the management of affairs. The head was the eldest unmarried brother of the woman and the honor of headship descended to the oldest unmarried male in the family. This system later changed; descent became transmitted thru the male line, thus ending matriarchy.

Exogamy was brot about to a great extent by wife capture, woman stealing being a consequent of successful warfare, indicating prowess. Furthermore a female thus acquired had

an economic value since she served her husband not only as wife or concubine but also as drudge or slave. From this practice exogamy developed till it became the custom. Because of the fact that those tribes that practice exogamy survived while those that practiced endogamy did not exogamy came to have the sanction of law and religion. However, there are many classical examples of sister marriages, as among the Ptolemies of Egypt and the kings of Ancient Persia, where the desire was to maintain the purity of the caste or of the royal blood. Sister marriages are even today found in Ceylon and the Sandwich islands. But exogamy has always been the general rule, whether from necessity or choice or both.

III. Patriarchy. — From matriarchy or rule of woman the pendulum swung to the opposite extreme, that of patriarchy or the rule of man, where the father was the head of the house and ruled not only his wife and children but also his children's families. He ruled supremely as long as he lived, his wife frequently being his slave, and was succeeded upon his death by his eldest son. Sir Henry Maine, in his "*Ancient Law*", published in 1861, advanced the theory that this was the primitive form of the family and that the further back we go in history the more wretched we find the condition of woman to have been. The trouble with his theory was that he did not go far enuf back into history but based his supposition altogether upon the early Roman family, which his book pictures. It is true that in early Rome the father had the right of life and death over his wife and children. Altho woman was respected on account of her virtue, her life was hard and the treatment accorded her often cruel. In Ancient Greece, likewise, woman was kept at home; but while she occupied a much lower place than the Roman woman, she was more humanely treated. She was uneducated and forbidden to mingle in society. Her whole duty was to rear children for her husband. The Greek husband did not abuse his wife; in fact he had little to do with her, for he spent his time away from home talking politics and philosophy, practicing or watching athletics, or listening to orations. When he craved female companionship he sought it from the Hetairii or public women, who being generally foreigners, were educated and nearly equal to him intellectually. While this was not the condition among all the Greeks it was among many of them especially the Athenians and Ionians, among whom the men were highly educated; their

wives were on the other hand densely ignorant, being thot unworthy of an education. In Sparta on the other hand there was much greater equality. Among Aryan peoples, however, woman has not been reduced to slavery, and in general she has exercised joint control over the children, who were released from parental authority when they married and formed homes of their own.

According to the Hindu conception the wife was regarded as incapable of holding property and so neither the wife nor the daughters could inherit property. Still the bride possessed her own personal belongings — her couch, clothing, and ornaments — and from this germ there probably arose the present rights of property and inheritance. In other countries we find similar development. Gradually the position of woman has risen from that of a mere chattel or piece of merchandise in her husband's household to her present condition, which in most countries is even yet inferior to that of man, but which is constantly rising. In a few countries her status has reached a plane almost equal to that of man.

1. *Polygyny*. — Under patriarchy we find polygyny, or the marriage of one man to more than one woman. Usually there was one preferred wife; often the others were concubines or slaves. Many examples are given in the Bible concerning such men as Jacob, David, and particularly Solomon, who is said to have had 700 wives and 300 concubines. In fact, as Westermarck says, it was so much the matter of course that the law did not even criticize it. A man was allowed as many wives as he was able to support. This practice was made possible for at least the wealthy and the rulers by the killing of so many men in war and by the custom of slavery, which appeared in the pastoral and agricultural stages of civilization, especially in the Eastern countries. Polygyny is found today in Turkey, Arabia, India, China, and even Japan. It is also practiced among many African tribes and until very recently was openly practiced among the Mormons of the United States, who regarded it as a divine institution devised in order more rapidly to populate the earth.

While polygyny has been permitted among savage and barbarous peoples it has not been, and in fact could not be, the universal custom, because of the almost equal number of individuals of the sexes. But as in some countries an excess of males caused by female infanticide and harsh treatment of women resulted in polyandry, so in other countries an

excess of females caused by the greater mortality of males in war, the greater hardships incurred by primitive man in hunting, the weaker vitality of the male in childhood, and a larger birth-rate of girls as a result of favorable conditions, produced polygyny. On account of expense harems were necessarily possessed only by the rich and powerful classes, who alone were able to support them. On the other hand many of the lower classes were denied wives because of the introduction of slavery and the inability of the poor to support them; so, on the average, when one man had more than one wife, some other man was compelled to live without one. The causes of polygyny were (1) self-indulgence of males; (2) need of laborers, causing wives to be economic assets; (3) superior influence in fighting of men with the largest number of children and relatives, owing to the fact that they could muster greater bands of warriors; (4) honor brot to the men for prowess and craft as evidenced by the number of captured women; and (5) augmented dignity of the chiefs and leading men resulting from the addition of wives to their retinues, harems thus being kept up for the purpose of giving social prestige. So, being noble, this system gained the sanction of religion.

IV. Monogamy.—As civilization advanced patriarchy gave way to monogamy, for with the advance of civilization slavery decreased and political, social, and industrial equality constantly increased. One natural result of the growth of liberty and freedom was the recognition of the right of every man to become married and to have a home of his own. Because of the almost equal number of males and females monogamy became the only form of the family long possible. Since freedom applied to woman as well as man, woman demanded a right to have a voice in the making of her home and her condition gradually became better. This has helped to make monogamy the only form of the family that modern civilization sanctions, altho other forms still prevail in many parts of the world even to the present day.

Indeed the results of investigation not only show that the other forms of the family led to monogamy but also point more and more to the fact that monogamy has always been the rule, that the marriage of single pairs with exclusive cohabitation has been the general custom, and that all other forms have been deviations from the rule. After all, the greatest change as civilization has advanced has been in the

strictness of enforcement. Altho at first monogamy was the custom and rule, there was no power of control which enforced it; in fact those in power who had the ability to enforce it were the very ones who violated the rule and hence did not wish to make it compulsory.

V. Morgan's Classification. — Morgan in his "*Ancient Society*" has developed an extremely interesting and ingenious evolution of the family. Assuming a previous condition of promiscuity he has worked out five different forms of the family as follows:

1. *Consanguine Family*, or the inter-marriage of brothers and sisters, own or collateral in a group; now extinct but thot to have been once universal. He based his theory upon the Malayan system found among the Maoris, Hawaiians, and other Polynesians, which is the basis of the Chinese relationships. Only five relationships are recognized — parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, brother and sister. Uncles, aunts, and cousins are impossible to determine.

2. *Punaluan*, or the marriage of each of several sisters in a group with the others' husbands or of each of several brothers in a group with the others' wives, the marriage between brothers and sisters being forbidden. This system has existed in Europe, Asia, and America within historic times and in Polynesia within the present century, especially among the Hawaiians. Each man came to have a principal wife and each woman a principal husband.

3. *Syndiasmian*, or the marriage (often temporary and unexclusive as to cohabitation) of a single pair. This form has been found among many American tribes, especially the Senecas, and among some of the peoples of India.

4. *Patriarchal*, a mode allowing to one man several wives; generally accompanied with the seclusion of the wives. It is a very common form in the Orient even today.

5. *Monogamy*, the marriage of single pairs with exclusive cohabitation.

The latter two forms have already been more fully treated. While suggestive this classification has not generally been accepted among sociologists.

VI. Forms of Marriage. — No history of the family would be complete without treating the evolution of marriage, tracing the forms thru which it has passed and stating the causes for them. Because this development has not always coincided with the history of the forms of the family it has

been omitted till now. The forms generally recognized have been the following:

1. *Natural or Sexual Selection.*— This was when man and woman naturally selected each other and went to living together solely by each other's charms. Because there was no power to compel them to live together, the two remained united only as long as each other's company was pleasing and desired. This condition existed thruout the period of the horde, if there was such a period, and thruout matriarchy. But when the male began to assume the right to appropriate his bride and to take her to his dwelling, this form of marriage broke down and marriage by capture took its place; then mother right (matriarchy) gave way to father right (patriarchy).

2. *Marriage by Capture.*— McLennan thot that marriage by capture arose from the rule of exogamy, according to which a man was compelled to go outside of his group to obtain a wife, for as his tribe was generally at war or on bad terms with the neighboring tribes, he was compelled to capture his bride. Others hold that marriage by capture grew out of the capture of women in war. Still others think that the men grew tired of the women of their own camp, seeing them all the time, and for this reason were attracted by the women of other tribes. The writer thinks that all these theories are true to some extent, and also that the superior strength of the male has had much to do with the prevalence of the custom. But whatever its origin it has played a great part in the history of marriage and is even today practiced by some savage tribes. Its former prevalence is shown or at least strongly indicated by the ceremony of pretended capture in marriage which is prominent in the marriage ceremonies of many countries. In these countries the bridegroom, generally aided by his friends, sweeps down upon the dwelling of the bride, as a rule according to some set custom, and carries her off despite the pretended resistance of her friends. In these contests she also pretends to put up a struggle no matter how willing she is to be carried off. Some people believe that certain marriage customs, such as the wedding tour, are merely survivals of this custom. Altho there is no direct evidence that it has existed among all races, marriage by capture is generally supposed to have once existed among nearly all peoples.

3. *Marriage by Purchase.*— Marriage by capture gave

way to marriage by purchase for the simple reason that man found it easier to buy a wife than to fight for one. Added to this was the desire of the father to receive some compensation for the bringing up of his daughters, who left the household almost as soon as they became economic assets. At first marriage by purchase would have been impossible, for there was no private property, but as progress was achieved and private property came into existence, this obstacle was removed. Cattle were the most common medium of exchange because of their being in almost universal demand.

This change from the capturing of a wife to the buying of one lowered the position of woman, for man thought more of his wife when he fought for her than when he purchased her for merely so many cattle. This produced the desire on his part to realize on the investment; as a result woman became a slave in her husband's household. Even if she was not lowered to a position of slave, she became a mere chattel and was prized only as an article of furniture. Sometimes she was better treated if she cost a large sum, just as a valuable animal would be well cared for, but this treatment did not carry with it any higher position. In many countries man had the right to sell his wife again, and in some he had the power of life and death over her. This was true in early Rome where the lot of woman was terribly hard. This practice of purchase was in vogue in nearly all ancient nations and was especially practiced among the Greeks, Hindus, Finns, Scandinavians, and Slavs. In modern times it has been common among numerous people such as many tribes of the American Indians, nearly all the tribes of Africa, Tartary, and some of the islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Remnants are found among many nations which do not practice it now in such customs as the giving of presents by the bridegroom to the parents of the bride, found among the Japanese. Often when a man did not have sufficient wealth to buy a wife he would in lieu of payment work an agreed upon time for her parents; the classic example is that of Jacob who worked seven years each for Leah and Rachel.

In some localities where wealth accumulated, as in Rome, instead of the fathers being paid for his daughter he gave a dowry with her. But as the dowry usually belonged to the daughter it gave her greater freedom and made her somewhat independent of her husband. This custom frequently prevailed in countries where a preponderance of female

it difficult to marry them off. Sometimes this even took the extreme form that unless this dowry was given the marriage was not considered legal, the children would not be regarded legitimate, and the woman would be treated little better than a prostitute. This became the condition in Greece and Germany to a great extent and to a certain degree in England.

4. *Marriage by Consent.* — Marriage by purchase was succeeded by marriage by consent. At first consent of only the parents was necessary; sometimes the consent of the bridegroom himself was not obtained. Such is the condition in China even today; the match is made by the parents thru the services of professional matchmakers; and the parties to be married submit without any protest. But in most countries the wishes of the man are considered and it is he that generally gets the consent of the bride's parents. Sometimes the match is arranged by the parents, tho often at the request of the man. At first the wishes of the woman were not deemed worthy of consideration; she undoubtedly, however, often used her charms to attract the attention and win the love of the man she preferred. The consent of the parents is regarded as necessary in many of the highly civilized countries today, especially among the upper classes. Christianity, however, has insisted that only the consent of the contracting parties is necessary, and this has come to be all that is legally necessary in the leading nations today.

VII. Three Distinct Stages Thru Which the Family Has Passed. — 1. Incomplete stage, as seen in the natural family while passing thru the periods of the horde and of matriarchy.

2. Completion of the natural family in patriarchy, where the husband becomes the head of the family but at the cost of subjection of the wife, who becomes almost a slave in her husband's household.

3. The period where husband and wife are on equal legal and moral planes, and where the marriage bonds are as strict on the husband as on the wife. We have not fully reached this stage but are fast moving towards it. This condition has been brot about to a great extent by the influence of Christianity, altho in some countries forces were already at work in this direction.

VIII. Influence of Christianity. — Altho disputed by some Christianity has done much to elevate the position of woman and to raise the standard of the family. First it did

away with polygamy, altho the Bible itself says little about it. Before Christianity appeared the position of woman was degrading, even to a great extent in highly civilized Greece and Rome. Altho Donaldson, in his "*Woman, Her Position in Ancient Greece and Rome*", gives little credit to it, Christianity has raised the position of woman from that of a slave to that of a partner. Christianity has always stood for a single standard of morality and has taught that the moral responsibility of man is the same as that of woman, and altho the Church has not as yet converted the world to this opinion, it is rapidly doing so at the present time.

IX. Stability of Marriage. — The durability of the marriage tie is another standard by which we can study the family. As a rule divorce could be had among savages on slight pretexts, especially by the man. In some countries it was almost impossible for the woman; for she had no legal rights; this was generally true in countries where marriage by purchase was the prevailing method. But the husband could send away his wife whenever he cared to—perhaps simply because he was tired of her—on the most frivolous grounds, or even without giving any reasons at all. Sometimes, however, this was not allowed when there were children. On the other hand a few savage tribes, such as the Papuas of New Guinea, the Veddahs of Ceylon, and the Massers of Batu, go to the opposite extreme and maintain that the marriage relation is absolutely insoluble.

Generally there was no formal divorce among savages; either the wife left the husband or he made her leave. Among more civilized peoples we find that divorce was allowed only for certain fixed reasons, of which adultery, unfaithfulness, barrenness, and cruelty have been the most common. Some form of ceremony would be usually insisted upon, generally the vote of the tribe or permission of the chief or ruler being required; but the husband always obtained the divorce the easier. In most instances both parties were allowed to remarry, altho this was made harder for the woman than for the man. Among the Hindus and Chinese even now it is almost impossible for a woman to obtain the divorce. It appears to have been almost universal for the woman who was divorced or who put away her husband to return to her own family, whose duty it was to receive her. In China at the present time she cannot be divorced unless her family is willing to receive her—a situation which seldom happens

because of the poverty of the people and the dislike for women; unless it is certain that a new husband can quickly be found for her.

Among Mohammedans divorce is allowed; Christianity has thrown its influence against it; the Roman Catholics forbid it, calling it "progressive polygamy". Protestants allow it, however, for limited reasons. But today divorce is increasing greatly in Christian countries, especially the United States. This is largely owing to a change of attitude on the part of Protestants in regard to it.

X. Position of Woman Under Different Religions.

— 1. *Brahmanism*. — In India, under Brahmanism, by law and custom a woman is married when a mere girl, sometimes even being spoken for when she is in her cradle. She is usually married to a man much older than she is, often to one old enough to be her father. She is in theory and often in practice a servant or rather a slave of her husband, not even being allowed to eat at the same table or to cook her food over the same fire. She is kept upon a low intellectual plane, seldom being allowed to learn to read or write. Her husband is her god; her hope in the future lies in the confident expectation of being able to serve her husband. Formerly when he died she was burned on his funeral pyre. When this custom (called suttee) was stopped by the English government, widows became despised and isolated persons and forbidden to remarry. A few years ago there were 23,000,000 such widows in India, many of whom were mere children, eight, ten, and twelve years of age, too young even to know what marriage meant; their unhappy lot the British government has tried with some success to alleviate. In the temples themselves in India women are kept for immoral purposes. Female infanticide formerly was very common and, altho it is now forbidden by the government, is yet practiced secretly to some extent. In fact there are today 5,000,000 fewer women in India than men, altho the harder lot of women and the poverty of the country may account in part for this difference.

2. *Buddhism*. — Under Buddhism woman enjoys a much higher position than under Brahmanism, for altho she is looked upon as an inferior she is treated well, especially in Siam. There a boy generally marries at fourteen, a girl at twelve; if a girl is not married at thirteen she is sold into serfdom. While polygamy and divorce prevail woman is to a great

extent independent. In Japan her position is not, on the whole, so good as in Siam; she is looked upon as an inferior, whose duty it is to serve her husband. This inferior position is shown often in the customs and ideals. Immorality is very common and concubinage does much to break up home life. The husband can easily divorce the wife; she can also obtain a divorce but her children go to the husband. Christianity has done much to elevate the position of woman in Japan; immorality has been checked to some extent and infanticide abolished.

3. *Confucianism*. — In China under Confucianism the condition of woman is wretched. A girl is merely a slave and is early given in marriage or sold if any one will buy her. She never sees her husband till the time for the marriage ceremony; she goes to live in the family of her husband where she becomes a slave; she never is given a chance to start a new home. The man can divorce his wife, provided her family will take her back, but the law recognizes no such right for the woman. In youth the girl is a slave to her parents; after marriage to her mother-in-law; in old age, to her sons. Because of poverty female infanticide is great; female suicide is common, altho the high price of the poisons made from opium and the scarcity of green opium has now made the luxury of a suicide almost prohibitive to the poor. The Chinese woman is a drudge, constantly bearing children, ceaselessly working, and finally adding to the number of female suicides.

4. *Mohammedanism*. — Altho not generally abused, woman holds a degraded position in all Mohammedan countries. While her husband must provide for his wife, he can divorce her for any reason; she has no such means of redress. Woman is never looked upon by her husband as a companion, but as a toy or plaything. Because of the prevalence of the old patriarchal system woman is the slave of her mother-in-law. The Koran permits four wives, but thru divorce a man can have as many wives as he wants; he is permitted as many concubines as he is able to support. The Mohammedan conception of Heaven includes woman to wait upon and serve man. It is this sensual and degraded position of woman which has counteracted the good effects of the Koran and has put all the Mohammedan countries so low in the scale of civilization.

5. *Judaism and Christianity*. — While the ancient Jews followed the patriarchal form of the family, the Jews were

the first people to allow marriage to be based merely upon personal choice. Rights of woman developed among them at a much faster rate than among other races. Christianity adding impetus to this development, has stood for the equal rights of woman. Among Christian races we find respect, love, and equality between husband and wife; the abolition of polygyny and concubines; the diminishing of immorality and impurity; the strengthening of marriage ties, and above all the evolution of woman's individuality. These are among the factors that have made the Christian nations the leading nations of the world today.

XI. Conclusion.—In most of the Oriental countries today the patriarchal form of the family is the prevailing one and is merely the remnant of the state of affairs common centuries ago. In Greece this took the form of seclusion; the wife was uneducated and altho well treated physically was not looked upon as a companion but merely as the keeper of the home and the rearer of the children—and much of this she turned over to slaves. Thus the position of woman was degrading enuf altho not so bad as it was previously in the nations of Asia. In early Rome woman occupied an honorable position altho her lot was hard. In the later Empire woman was freed largely from the restraint of the patriarchal family but family ties became very lax and the family very unstable; immorality simultaneously increased, reaching terrible proportions in the later years of the Empire. This was brot about largely by the destruction of the old religion, the bringing in of vast wealth to Rome from all parts of the Empire, and the change in political conditions. Instead of advancing, Rome degenerated and crumbled. During the Middle Ages we find the development of that feudalism, when men spent their time fighting, pillaging and drinking and left most of the work for the women to do. This was followed by the period of chivalry which has been sung and written about so much. But chivalry was an artificial condition that developed under knighthood. The knight who would fight to the death to defend the honor of a woman of gentle birth, or the nobility, thot nothing of ravishing the daughter of the poor. In fact the daughters of the peasants or serfs were looked upon by the nobles and landlords as legitimate objects of prey. In Europe today woman occupies a subordinate position differing in degrees in the various countries; even in England she does not hold an equal posi-

tion before the law. Divorce is made much harder for her than for the man, and the double standard falls much heavier upon her. In one or two countries she is given the voting privilege but in general her position is much inferior to that in the United States, especially in such countries as Russia, Austria, Hungary, Spain, and Germany.

Woman is rapidly coming into a condition of equality with man, and it is only a question of time until this principle will be completely recognized. Progress is most evident in education, business, social life and politics.

1. *Education.* — It has been only a few years since people were discussing the question whether it was worth while to educate girls beyond enabling them to read and write. Later the question was whether it was worth while to send them to a secondary school; in some sections of our country the value of such an education is hardly recognized even today. Not long ago people were debating in regard to a college education, and now the same question is being thrashed out in regard to professional study, as medicine, law, or engineering, for women. Not many years ago women were first admitted to our colleges; they are even today forbidden admission to a few of our largest universities and colleges. But in general we admit the principle of equal education for women.

2. *Business.* — During the past twenty-five or thirty years woman has invaded the field of business and in the inferior places which require accuracy and attention to details, as stenographer, bookkeeper, secretary, cashier, etc., she not only has established herself but frequently has proved her superiority to man. She is now attempting the more advanced positions, as head of a department, manager, etc. But she is meeting with greater difficulty in such positions because of the high degree of fitness required and also because as a rule man enters business as a life work while woman often enters it in an amateur way, intending to follow it only a few years, and looking towards matrimony as a goal. Then, too, man has always shown greater executive ability and so is better adapted to managing and supervising. However, recently women are seen going into business for themselves; they are generally successful in a small way but are too apt to be over-conservative and hence not to branch out sufficiently or to take the chances required to win great success.

3. *Social Life.* — In social life the position of woman is becoming less artificial and more practical. She is no longer

placed upon a pedestal and worshipped simply because she is a woman; she is now respected for what she is. She is not excused simply on the grounds that she belongs to the female sex, but is held responsible as a person able to decide and reason things out. In short she is being worshipped less and respected more. The old form of chivalry is rapidly dying out; a new and higher form is taking its place. Woman is being deferred to and waited upon less and less, but she is given a greater chance to develop her talents to the best of her ability.

4. *Politics*.—Woman suffrage has been ridiculed and opposed in vain. It is now recognized by all careful students of the question as not merely inevitable but as the only sane outcome. Woman has to obey laws. Why not give her a voice in making them? If she owns property she has to pay taxes on it. Why not give her a voice in saying what those taxes shall be? She is going into industry and fighting her own way in the world, subject to the dangers and temptations of the world, to disease, to poor sanitation, to impure milk supply, to bad housing conditions, etc. She has to live amid these conditions, why not give her a chance to protect herself? Woman suffrage will never bring the millenium; but why should this be expected? It is not a question of bringing in reforms, but of giving equal rights and privileges to all who are entitled to them. The woman suffrage fight has been won in the United States and many countries of Europe and its acceptance is being slowly accepted thruout the world.

It is now being recognized that in the last analysis marriage is a mutual attraction of the sexes; in order to make it a success the wife should be capable of meeting the husband on an equal plane and of sharing his interests. When this is accomplished, then happiness will be more certain; then (and not till then) will the evolution of the family be accomplished.

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CHAPTER X

PROBLEMS OF THE MODERN FAMILY

While the slavery and subjection of the wife in the home has been abolished, the power of life and death of the man over his wife and children made a thing of the past, and such conditions as polygyny and polyandry done away with in most civilized countries, there are still problems connected with family life. These problems are different from the ones of a thousand years ago, different even from those of fifty ago; nevertheless they exist. They are constantly varying as changes occur in the framework of our social fabric. In this chapter we shall consider some of the most noticeable of our present-day problems that concern the family.

Race Suicide. — A great deal of attention has been given in recent years to the fact that the size of the families of our native American stock has been constantly decreasing. Statistics go to prove such statements, as we found in our study of birth-rates. The writer once made a sociological study of an isolated section of Massachusetts. In three towns in this community the average size of the families decreased from 6.45, 6.54, and 8.24 persons respectively in 1765 to 5.83, 6.30, and 5.68 in 1905. Figures for the native population throught the country show a similar tendency, that there is everywhere a decrease in the size of the modern family, especially among the educated and cultured classes. In our chapter on "Increase of Population" we considered the social and economic reasons for this decline in birth-rate. Some people look upon this decrease with alarm but others look upon it with the hope that thru this means our standard of living will keep on growing higher, that we shall rear with greater care what children we have. As the size of the family decreases we find that the death rate decreases, especially among children. Fewer children die in infancy, because they receive better care, more wholesome food, better clothing, and more careful medical attention. The principal objection to this seeming race suicide is that the people who have least

need to restrict the size of their families are the ones who do it and the ones who can least afford large families are the ones who still have them, being too ignorant or too shiftless to limit the number of the children. We see laborers who earn minimum daily wages possessing families of six and eight children. We see these children insufficiently fed, thinly clad, poorly housed, and at an early age forced into industry and never given a chance to develop as they should. This condition increases crime, vice, and poverty. If an outcry against race suicide is started, the ones who ought to limit the size of their families are the very ones who try to increase them. Some oppose the idea of limiting families on religious grounds, believing that we should continue to replenish the earth and should not interfere with the plans of our Creator. Such views are not held so much as formerly, for the world already shows indications of soon being overpopulated; it is also conceived as possible that our Creator has given us the knowledge to control the number of children. On the whole this cry of race suicide does not attract nearly so much attention today as it did a few years ago. Some states even now, however, try to prevent by law doctors from giving their patients knowledge to prevent conception, but such laws are reactionary and retrogressive.

Individualism.— We are living in an age of specialization. Each person must be able to do some one thing. This specialization has spread to the home and has helped towards the breaking down of home life. Formerly both parents were at home, now the father is away a great deal of the time and often the mother is also forced to go into industry; the children are thus left to their own devices. In the homes of the rich it is equally bad, for here the children are frequently entrusted to the care of servants, the father being engrossed with business cares and the mother with her social functions. This is carried so far that some people go to the extent of predicting the ultimate destruction of the family, saying that it has served its part in civilization and is soon to be relegated to the past. Such a view is of course too extreme. Yet on the other hand we cannot go back to the old form of the family, because we are not living under the same conditions in which our fathers and grandfathers lived. Formerly the girls in the home were held in restraint. In many sections of our country a woman would lose her standing in society if she even ventured to walk thru the country alone, and such

is the condition to a great extent in our Southern states today. Possibly there was once the need of such provision because of the dangers of a new country, and possibly such conditions exist in the South today because of the presence of the negro, but in general our country has reached so high a state of civilization that such restraint is wholly unnecessary. The place of woman in the past was in the home and we hear today the same argument harped on by the reactionary element in our population; but such movements as the woman's suffrage and feminist movements are rapidly convincing the world that woman has an equal right to a voice in every phase of our social life, that she has the right to go into industry, to make her own living, choose a career, and give them an equal voice not only in the control of the children but also in all matters that affect the home. While this argument may be perfectly valid and is now generally so recognized, it presents difficulties of adjustment. Altho we may be willing to admit that woman has just as valid a right to swear, drink, and smoke as man, it nevertheless offends us more when she does it, because we are not accustomed to it. When a woman demands an equal right with men to dine out of evenings unescorted or even to walk the street of an evening unescorted, her meaning may be misunderstood and she may be in some places molested and even insulted. Such are merely difficulties incidental to adjustment to a new condition. Since from one-fourth to one-third of the women in industry are married, the family problem is increased. In time we shall get our bearings and become accustomed to woman's going into industry, choosing a profession, insisting upon the continuance in that profession after marriage, demanding a single standard of morality, and insisting upon an equal share in the making and executing of our laws. When we shall have reached such a stage we shall no longer consider individualism a problem but shall wonder why it took the world so long to be convinced. In the past woman has not kept pace with her husband after marriage but gradually slipped backward, and she does so to some extent even today. This has been one condition that has stood in the way of any movement tending to bring about a condition of equality. Man went out into the world, brushed up against others, and in this manner kept his wits sharpened and his horizon continually broadened. But woman remained in the home, doing the same old things day after day and

meeting the same small number of people. Her work did not end at five or six o'clock but continued long afterwards; thus she has generally been deprived of time even to read the daily newspapers, to say nothing of getting out into the world and brushing up against other people; so she inevitably fell back. This has been true even of college graduates, for there is not always an incentive to cause them to continue their studies. To the writer this problem of individualism seems merely a temporary problem, one of adjustment, rather than a permanent condition. It is merely the sign of progress. Modern improvements are making house work less a drudgery. Such inventions as the vacuum cleaner, electric iron, gas range, electric cookers, electric lights, and electric washing machines make house work less difficult. The bakery and canning factory save much cooking. Woman is thus given more time for self culture. She is allowed to go outside into the world more and more, and, altho woman is naturally more conservative than man, we can only look for a higher condition to follow our present state of affairs. The World War complicated this problem because of the great increase of women in industry; at the same time it probably hastened its solution by increasing the respect for woman and by offering her greater opportunities.

Divorce.—When we come to the divorce question we meet a problem which is much more serious than the two that we have just considered, altho possibly less alarming than many people believe it to be. The conditions are not all bad, for often a divorce is a good thing in that it may be a relief from a worse condition. If a couple simply cannot live together happily and if life to both of them is torment, it is best for them to separate. If there are children the seriousness of the situation is increased, for their future has to be considered, even more in fact than that of the parents. And if the couple continue to live together the problem may be still further complicated by the birth of more children. The fact that we have such a thing as divorce is not the alarming feature; it is rather in the great increase of divorce in the United States; in truth there are more divorces granted in the United States than in all the rest of the nations of the civilized world. This became the case as early as 1885, as is shown by the following figures for that year for the number of divorces granted.

United States	23,472	Great Britain and Ireland...	508
France	6,245	Roumania	541
Germany	6,161	Holland	339
Russia	1,789	Belgium	290
Austria	1,718	Sweden	229
Switzerland	920	Australia	100
Denmark	635	Norway	68
Italy	556	Canada	12

This makes a total of only 20,131 divorces for all the other nations as against 23,472 for the United States. The figures for twenty years later, 1905, are still more impressive, as shown as follows:

United States	67,976	Italy (1904)	859
Germany	11,147	Great Britain and Ireland...	821
France	10,860	Denmark	549
Austria-Hungary	5,785	Sweden	448
Roumania	1,718	Norway	408
Switzerland	1,206	Australia	339
Belgium	901	New Zealand	126
Holland	900	Canada	33

The United States has more than held its own, for against less than 40,000 divorces for the rest of the civilized world the United States had in 1905 nearly 68,000. The highest divorce rate outside the United States was in Switzerland, where there was one divorce to twenty-two marriages. In France the ratio was one to thirty; in Germany one to forty-four, and in England one to four hundred. In the United States it was one to twelve. A few of our states, especially the Western, showed a much higher rate, it being in Washington, Oregon, and Montana one to five; in Colorado and Indiana one to six; in Oklahoma, California, and Maine one to seven; and in New Hampshire, Arkansas, Texas, Missouri, and Kansas one to eight. Some of our cities show rates as high as one to four and one to three. The divorce rate for the Western states in 1905 was more than four times that of the North Atlantic states and almost four times that of the South Atlantic states. This difference is owing largely to the greater independence of woman in the Western states.

Rapid Increase in the United States.— Yet it is not so much the fact that the United States leads the world in the number of divorces granted but that the increase has been so rapid in this country that furnishes the alarming feature. In 1867, the first year for which divorce statistics are available, there were only 9,937 divorces granted in the United

States, while in 1906, the last year for which such statistics are available, the number reached 72,062. In the twenty years from 1867 to 1886 inclusive there were 328,716 divorces granted, but in the next twenty years, or 1887 to 1906 inclusive, the number reached 945,625. In the first period (from 1867 to 1886) the number of divorces increased 157 per cent, while the population increased but 60 per cent; in the second period (from 1886 to 1906) the number of divorces increased 160 per cent, while the population increased but a trifle over 50 per cent. In other words divorce has increased three times as fast as our population. Professor Wilcox estimates that at our present rate of increase that in 1950 one-fourth of all our marriages will end in divorce and that in 1990 one-half of all marriages will end in divorce. Such a condition would be dangerous to our civilization for it would inevitably cause neglect of children, the breaking up of the home, immorality, and an entire disregard for family ties. While such an increase as Professor Wilcox suggests is logical, it is not at all probable. We are now in a period of transition and we should naturally expect a high divorce rate. In all probability it will be only a matter of a few years till we reach the end of this increase, altho we have not reached it yet. After we have settled down to the new state of affairs and reach the time when woman has as much to say about the choosing of a mate and the management of the home as the man, then we can perhaps look for a decrease, for we can naturally expect that then unions will be made with greater care and that as a result greater marital happiness will result. If people were truly happy, they would not even need any marriage bonds to hold them; in fact they would continue to live together if there were none.

Who Are Divorced? — 1. As we naturally should suppose because of the greater strain upon family life, divorces are granted much more frequently in cities than in rural sections. This is not true, however, in some cities where there are large numbers of immigrants, who have not as yet adopted our customs and who too are more largely adherents of the Roman Catholic Church. The liability of family friction is increased by cramped dwellings, nerve strain, financial worry, opportunities to spend money, the inclination to seek pleasure outside of the family circle, late hours, separation during the most of the day, renting instead of owning homes, especially furnished apartments, the buying of food in restau-

rants and delicatessens instead of home cooking, and other urban conditions make it only natural that we find divorce more common in cities than in the country.

2. We discover that divorce is four times as frequent in homes that have no children as among families that have them. Children give the parents something in common, something to love, somebody else to work for; thus they keep the minds of the parents off themselves and lessen selfishness. In fact the possession of children develops the finest qualities of the human soul; parents endure things—even unhappiness—for the sake of their children, being unwilling to spoil their future. Then again, altho it is a fact seldom mentioned, childlessness may be a sign of previous unfaithfulness and immorality; the couple may not be able to have children. This in itself would bring about unhappiness. If a wife finds out that she cannot have children because her husband sowed his wild oats years before, she naturally will lose her love for him. Formerly she was blamed with barrenness, but nowadays she is able to find out the real reason. Then families who are too selfish to have children are the very ones who are too selfish to live happily together. So the whole plight is only natural, a logical result of present-day living conditions.

3. Religion plays an important part. Because the Roman Catholic Church forbids divorce, we naturally find the fewest cases among its adherents. Protestants say the least about it and have practically no church laws forbidding it, so we find them at the head of the list. The Jews follow the Protestants. In sections where religious control is great we naturally look for a lower divorce rate. Religion is, however, playing a less important role in this respect than formerly.

4. Divorce is greater among native whites than foreign-born whites because of the larger percentage of Roman Catholics among the immigrants and because of the fact that the newcomers have not yet adopted our ideas and customs. Women among the immigrants endure things the native American woman would not think of enduring.

5. For the past forty years two-thirds of the divorces have been granted to the wife. In former times it was the husband who sought divorce, but now it is the wife. This does not mean that the fault is two-thirds of the time with the husband. If the divorce is agreed upon between them, it is the wife who usually seeks it because of the greater

chance she has of obtaining it. Moreover modern laws in the United States favor her more than the husband, allowing divorce for cruelty, drunkenness, adultery, desertion, non-support, etc., so it is harder for a man to get a divorce; it is also a greater disgrace to the wife if the husband sues for the divorce. Courts are much more lenient with women than men. Because man is stronger he can be cruel if he desires; it would be more difficult for the wife to be cruel. It is also easier for a man to desert his family. The temptation to adultery and drunkenness is greater; so it is only natural if he is the guilty party in the majority of cases. If the home is unhappy, it affects the wife more, for she has to live in it; the husband has the chance to be away much of the time.

6. There are three great divorce centers, the Western states, Rocky Mountain and North Central states, and New England; this fact is caused by the greater development of individualism and woman's rights in those sections, and also by the greater economic independence of woman in those localities. In the last few years there has been a great increase of divorce in the Southern states, and we can expect a further increase in that section.

7. As to occupation we find that the rate among farmers is below normal. On the other hand actors, commercial travelers, professional showmen, bartenders, musicians, physicians, and telephone and telegraph operators furnish far above the average number according to occupation. Where the occupation brings with it greater strain upon the family ties we find greater divorce rates. Also those occupations which attract temperamental persons such as actors and musicians naturally furnish a high divorce rate.

Grounds for Divorce. — It must be clearly understood that there is a difference between grounds for divorce and causes of divorce. By grounds we mean the legal bases upon which divorce may be obtained. These need not be necessarily the reasons; the real reasons may never be disclosed in the court room, and frequently are not. In all there are thirty-six different grounds for divorce recognized by the laws of the various states, ranging in number from one (adultery) in New York to fourteen in New Hampshire. While some states grant divorce on trivial grounds, such as incompatibility of temper, more than half of the divorces are granted for such grave reasons as desertion, adultery, cruelty,

imprisonment for crime, habitual drunkenness and non-support; ninety-five per cent of the divorces are granted on these grounds. The following statistics will give a better idea of the importance of the various grounds. Figures are for the years from 1887 to 1906.

<i>Grounds of Divorce</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>% to Men</i>	<i>% to Women</i>
Desertion -----	39.0	49.4	33.6
Adultery -----	20.0	28.7	10.0
Cruelty -----	---	10.5	27.5
Drunkenness -----	5.0	1.1	5.3
Non-support -----	3.8	---	---

For these data it will easily be seen that the fault is not so much with the laxity of our laws as with the decay of our family life. While drunkenness is given in a few cases, it has figured as a contributing cause in one-third of the divorces granted to the wife for cruelty and in one-fifth of the non-support cases and an indirect cause in 18.3 per cent of the divorces granted to the wife. The reason why adultery is given by the man more frequently than by the wife is that our double standard of morals makes it more difficult to secure evidence against the man than against the woman. Since 1867 adultery as a ground for divorce has decreased from 15.6 per cent to 15.3 per cent. On the other hand the number of divorces granted for cruelty and non-support has doubled.

The fact that divorce has increased does not necessarily mean that family life is less happy or less successful than it ever has been. It means rather that more is demanded, especially by the wife. Conduct which was formerly overlooked is now considered sufficient grounds for divorce. The wife demands not only chastity and freedom from excessive abuse on the part of the husband, but also a partnership in the family for herself. The husband also demands self-sacrifice and loyalty. While formerly man and wife expected to live together, now they demand that they be able to live together happily. The general spread of education makes this demand all the more important. We are living on a higher moral plane than in the past and the increase in divorce is merely an evidence of it.

Causes for the Increase in Divorce in the United States.—The question arises, why has the United States such a high divorce rate? What is there about our civilization which works havoc with the stability of our family ties?

Some of the reasons underlying this condition are undoubtedly the following:

1. *High Standard of Living Required in the United States.* — The demand for not only the necessities of life but for comforts as well, altho thoroly desirable, brings about friction. It tends to limit the size of families, hence produces a greater risk of unhappiness. Women today are not contented unless they receive the comforts and often the luxuries of life. When these are impossible, disappointment ensues; too often this leads to the divorce court. The higher standard of morality and family life in general also leads to dissatisfaction.

2. *Increased Cost of Living.* — An increase in the financial strain is closely joined with the high standard of living now demanded. Worry over finances brings about friction. Wages are slower to increase than prices, so often while the expenses are increasing the income is stationary. This problem is accentuated when the husband does not take his wife into partnership with him in regard to the finances; when as a result she does not understand this financial strain, she does not appreciate the worry of the husband. Too often the wife, ignorant of true values, is consequently extravagant and not worthy to be taken into partnership if her husband so desires. Girls are too little trained to recognize the real value of money; not having to earn it, they do not know how to spend it. Formerly the wife left financial matters to the husband, now she is demanding an equal voice in the financial management, but very often she is not capable of handling finances wisely. This causes friction and is one reason for the increase in the number of divorces granted for non-support and desertion.

3. *Growth of Modern Industrialism.* — The new industrial system has made it possible for women to obtain employment and thus become independent. This condition has tended to break up the home. When the wife enters industry, the home is disrupted and little attention is paid to taking care of the household. The wife does not have the time to prepare the meals or to keep the house tidy. Consequently the home is less attractive. Then, too, when girls enter industry, they neglect to learn domestic arts; so when they marry they do not know how to cook, sew, take care of children, or keep house; of course the home becomes uninviting and married life unsuccessful.

4. *Growth of Individualism.* — This already considered as a problem of the family, has tended to increase family jealousy, especially if the wife is also a breadwinner and is economically independent of the husband. Included in this heading might be given the feminist and woman suffrage movement, which are evidences of a change to which we have not as yet adjusted ourselves.

5. *The Rapid Growth of Cities.* — As has been shown the movement of population to the city has undoubtedly been one of the reasons for the increase in divorce, for it has increased the chances for clash and has so tended to break up home life.

6. *Late Marriages.* — Postponement of marriage lessens the possibility of happiness. Not only do women become self-supporting and thus economically independent, but those who marry late in life find it more difficult to adjust themselves to the new relationship. After people pass the age of thirty their habits become solidified; it is very difficult for them to change views and customs. They become accustomed to having things just so and think that their happiness depends upon having them just so. If they married before these habits had become fixed, the man and woman might easily adjust themselves to each other. This condition seems to be growing worse: the time required for preparation for a professional career is constantly lengthening. After four years in high school the student requires four more for college, then three or four for the professional school. Even with the combination of these latter two periods in the modern university six years are required to prepare for law and seven or eight for medicine, and then that is not all, for it takes from one to three years for one to become established. For medicine, one or two years in a hospital are generally considered to be necessary; then one or two more to acquire a practice. As it works out, the ordinary professional man has reached the age of thirty or is approaching near it before he can think of getting married. This situation lessens the chances of happiness. At present we can see no remedy for this condition. Possibly the future will reveal one by which couples may marry and then continue their studies.

7. *Decay of Religion.* — We perhaps ought rather to say that, instead of the decay of religion, the decay of religious control has been a factor in causing divorce. While in the

belief of the writer religion is not decaying by any means but is growing purer and loftier, the control of the church is decreasing. Religion is becoming more and more a personal matter. Marriage is being considered less and less a religious ceremony. The various churches are preaching less urgently against divorce. It is not now considered so much a violation of divine command as it was formerly.

8. *Increased Knowledge of the Law.*—Formerly people did not know that they could be freed from marriage bonds; now they know that they can. Hence many who a few generations ago would not have thought about divorce now seek separation. There is less fear or awe of the courts now than formerly; the press and popular magazines have familiarized the common people with the legal processes. Hence divorces are more often sought.

9. *The Granting of Divorce on Trivial Grounds.*—This along with the lax enforcement of the laws that we have, due to the change in public opinion and the increased laxity of the public mind the gravity of marriage and divorce, is considered by many as a prominent cause of divorce increase. Some point to Canada and England as examples of countries where divorce laws are strict and where as a result there are few divorces. This phase of the question has probably been exaggerated. The increase of divorce is due more to the breaking down of home life than to the laxity of our laws. Some point to the lax laws of a few states, especially Nevada and assert that people rush to such states for divorce; but this rush is exaggerated, for few go outside of their own state to be divorced; in fact, only about one-fifth of the divorces are granted outside of the state in which the couple was married. If courts are lax it is because public opinion to a large extent demands or at least allows that laxity. Often our courts are overburdened with work and cannot give a divorce case the attention that should be given it, as evidenced by the fact that the average time allowed for a divorce case is something like fifteen minutes. At any rate divorces are exceedingly easy to obtain, possibly too easy.

On the whole the United States, with its varied life, hustle and bustle, high nervous tensions, changing climate, and rapid growth of cities and industry, may be a country in which we should naturally expect to find a high divorce rate, and after all our condition may not be nearly so abnormal as

one would think at first glance. Being in the transition stage that we are, we need not be at all alarmed that we have such a high divorce rate. The danger will come, however, if divorce keeps on increasing and if in the course of a few years it bids fair to come up to the estimate of Professor Wilcox. If it brings with it an increase in immorality such as it did in Rome and if family relations become lax, then there will be cause for alarm. As yet that condition has not appeared in this country. Immorality is not so frequent as it was fifty years ago, when we had few divorces. The moral condition in this country is constantly growing better.

Results of Divorce. — Some of the results of divorce are noticeable, such as the increase in juvenile delinquency. A child needs the care and attention of both parents, and when the home is broken up it does not get them. Sometimes it is better for the child if the parents separate than if they live in a state of constant quarreling and fighting; but when we come to examine the conditions in the families from which come the inmates of our reform schools and the children who appear before the juvenile courts, we find that the majority of these unfortunates come from homes that have been broken up. Professor Ellwood in an investigation made in 1909 found that of the 7,575 children in thirty-four state reform schools 29.6 per cent came from families in which there had been a divorce or desertion; 33 per cent in which one of the parents was dead; and 38 per cent from homes demoralized by drink, vice, or crime. Only a few came from homes that were perfectly normal. Of 4,278 children investigated in four juvenile courts 23.7 came from homes in which there had been divorce or desertion, while 27.8 per cent came from homes in which only one parent was living or both parents were dead. The same was true of inmates of homes for dependent children, for in the thirty-two institutions investigated it was found that 24.7 per cent of the children were from homes in which there had been divorce or desertion; 47.5 per cent had lost one or both parents. In short it requires the care of more than just one parent to bring up a child and produce a normal, well-rounded adult. When broken into the family fails in its function; then some other institution, such as the juvenile court, has to step in to perform the function of the family.

If the fault caused by breaking up of a family is not corrected by the juvenile court or some other institution, the child drifts into ways that are worse than ever and instead of appearing before the juvenile court he arrives in the adult court and goes to the penitentiary, thus swelling the number of criminals. It has also been the rule in history for immorality to follow lax family conditions, and while immorality is on the decline in the United States at present, it might decrease still faster if we held ourselves to a plane of high family morality.

Remedies Suggested. — Since the trouble arises from the decay of family life, it is difficult to suggest remedies. There is no one cause that we can trace out and put our finger on; the causes are too numerous and the trouble too deep rooted to be weeded out by any legal action or by any one program of action. Some people even go to the opposite extreme and say that the fault is not with divorce but with the family as an institution, that instead of limiting divorce we should make divorce absolutely free and allow any couple to separate if they care to and that it is a greater crime to compel a couple to live together unhappily than to allow them to separate. While there is a great deal of truth in this viewpoint it is a dangerous policy to advocate, for the practice of it would merely cover up immorality and put the cloak of decency and law upon all forms of vice and sexual laxity. It would rob the marriage bond of its sacredness. As stated previously the source of the trouble is not altogether with our laws or lack of them; however, some laws might be steps in the right direction and might be advantageous even if they did not solve the problem. Among legal measures often suggested are the following:

1. *A Universal Marriage and Divorce Law.* — Instead of each state having a different code there should be one Federal code to cover the whole country. Under our present condition if a couple cannot obtain a divorce in one state, they can move into another; if they cannot marry in their own state all they have to do is to cross a state border. This is especially true with marriages under the legal age and with marriages after divorce. Some states forbid marriage for one or two years after divorce. In such conditions the couple go to a state which does not put such obstacles in Cupid's way. This condition lowers the prestige of the law as well as degrades

the sanctity of marriage. It is argued that marriage and divorce are national questions rather than state ones. Yet there are objections to such a code. Conditions are different in the various states and what might be fair and just in West Virginia might not be in Massachusetts, and what might be needed in New York might be just the opposite in California. Then, too, if such a code should be drafted, at best it would only be an average code. Some states have high codes and others do not, and a code which would be accepted by the majority would be only an average one, and would lower the standard upheld in some states. On the whole a uniform marriage and divorce code, provided a really high code could be adopted, would probably be a step in the right direction, but it would be very difficult to get such a code adopted. It is more a question of practice than of theory.

2. *Court of Domestic Relations.* — Another reform measure which is meeting with popular favor and which is being adopted in our large cities is that of a court of domestic relations. Such a court has a special judge who gives all his or her (such a judge is frequently a woman) time to domestic cases; all divorce cases and suits involving family troubles come before this court. Its machinery is directed especially to the handling of this type of work. Time is taken to look into the cases, and instead of trying to dispose of them by granting the divorce in the shortest possible manner the court tries to remedy the trouble, and if possible reconcile the husband and wife and induce them to try to live together. Very often the cause is trivial and can be easily remedied; in fact a large percentage of the cases coming before the Domestic Relations Court of Chicago are settled out of court, the cases being dropped from the docket. One objection to such a remedy is that it often comes too late to do any good, the case not being brot into court until the breach has been widened beyond repair. In close connection with the method is the practice of hiring a divorce proctor, whose duty it is to inquire carefully into the family life of the applicants for divorce in order to see if there is any fraud, to ascertain whether the grounds given in the application are really the true causes, and to find out if there is any collusion between the husband and wife, such as the husband leaving home for a time sufficient to form

legal grounds for divorce for desertion. In Kansas City, such a proctor cut down the number of divorces granted 30 per cent. Such remedies do an unlimited amount of good in checking the granting of divorces for trivial reasons and in preventing the unnecessary breaking up of homes; they do not however get at the roots of the problem. They cannot stop marital unhappiness, which is the real problem. They are measures for the alleviation of the trouble, they do not prevent the causes that produce the problem. Their use should be extended, but they should not be relied upon to solve the difficulty.

3. *Restricting the Grounds for Divorce.* — Those advocating such a measure would make divorce harder to obtain by decreasing the number of recognized grounds thru limiting them to the five or six most serious, *i. e.*, adultery, crime, cruelty, drunkenness, desertion, and non-support. While this restriction might compel a higher standard, it would not solve the problem; it would merely cover it up. It would be like easing the pain of a broken leg without trying to set the bone.

4. *The Requirement of a Stated Time Before Remarriage.* — The requirement of an intervening period of one or two years before remarriage would put a damper on trying to obtain a divorce in order to marry somebody else. If in alliance with such a provision the divorce was not made completely operative till a year or two after being granted and became null and void if the couple decided to live together again, it would give the couple a chance to reconsider and would make reunion less troublesome and less spectacular. Such requirements are all very well, but they do not solve — they merely alleviate. They would undoubtedly remedy a few cases but not many.

5. *The Placing of Restrictions Upon Marriage.* — The forbidding of marriage to those afflicted with venereal disease, to defectives, to those exhibiting too great differences in age or race, to immature persons, and to persons with insufficient means — such restrictions deal with the real source of trouble, the marriage of those unfitted for each other. The solution is in the prevention of unwise mating of people rather than in the separation of those already mated. A few states have such laws today, particularly those laws requiring a medical examination before marriage and those forbidding the marriage of insane and feeble-minded. Also most states forbid

the marriage of the very young without parental consent. It is to the extension of such laws that we must look for our greatest reform. But in this regard public opinion is stronger than law. If we have the laws without public opinion back of them, they will become dead letters; on the other hand if public opinion demands these regulations strong enough, there will be little need of such laws. It is this public opinion which needs our attention and fostering. We do not put enough stress upon the importance and real meaning of marriage; we too often rush into it without any thought of the future, merely being captivated by a pretty face, a fat pocket-book, or a dashing manner. If people moved towards marriage less hastily, made more careful plans for the future, and really understood the partners they had chosen for life, there would be fewer people rushing to the divorce courts.

6. *Moral Education.*—It is to moral education that we must look for our greatest remedy of the divorce evil. Habits, customs, and ideals are the results of public opinion; public opinion can be molded by education, not by laws. Laws are merely the reflections of public opinion, not the creators of it. It takes time and advertising to build up public sentiment. The press, magazines, lectures, books, churches, and schools have to be brought into use. And it is thru such mediums that we must look for the solution of this problem just as for the solution of any other problem. There are causes and reasons back of problems, and these have to be considered and dealt with. The present divorce evil is merely the reflection of a disorganized home. This disorganized home is largely the result of a readjustment to new conditions, the change from the remnant of the old patriarchal family to the family of partnership, love, and co-operation. As soon as the public becomes educated to this change, gets accustomed to it, and prefers it to any other condition, then the divorce problem will dwindle away. If marriage is based upon mutual love and appreciation and the home is held together by sympathy and co-operation, there will be less desire for separation. Under our present conditions divorce is not necessarily bad. If the home is unhappy and the real functions of the family impossible, it is often a blessing to break up that home. While children complicate the situation, it is impossible to forbid divorce to those having children; it would be absurd to have one standard for the families with children

and another for those who are childless, for the establishment of such a distinction would merely put a premium upon childlessness. Efforts should be made to limit divorce to those cases where family ties are irretrievably broken. Divorce should be discouraged rather than encouraged. The teaching of domestic science and education for parenthood should be encouraged in our public schools. The church instead of preaching against the sins of divorce should try to remedy the conditions that cause it. The spread of the knowledge of venereal diseases, the stamping out of vice, the abolishing of the liquor traffic, extension of the work of visiting nurses, remedying the causes of poverty and crime, in fact the extension of all the agencies which are working for a purer and nobler life and a loftier and more efficient civilization — such should be the program of those craving better family relationships. The schools, the churches, and all altruistic organizations should struggle to carry out such a program rather than to bring about legislative reforms. Let them create a spirit of altruism in the public mind; then the problem will solve itself.

Family Income. — In our study of the divorce problem we found that difficulties centering in the family income formed one of the leading causes of divorce. We shall find the same facts operative in other problems, not only those of poverty and crime, but also those of immorality, drunkenness, and sickness. The family income fixes the standard of living, affects the health of the entire family, and determines the size, convenience, healthfulness and location of the house in which the family lives. Because it determines the amount and quality of food, it affects the physical stamina. It does likewise for the clothing worn, in regard not only to the style and cut but to the quantity and comfort. It fixes the amount of education the children obtain, whether they can go on to high school, college, or fitting school, even whether they can go to school at all; or whether they will be forced into industry in order to add to the income. It decides whether the mother may remain at home or must go into industry to supply the deficiency in the husband's income. It provides — or fails to provide — the health, wealth, pleasures, prosperity, and efficiency not only of the present generation but that of the future generations as well. It determines whether or not the next generation will be stunted

physically, mentally and morally. If the father cannot earn enuf for the family and if the wife and young children are forced into industry, the very purpose of the home is defeated.

Various estimates have been made as to the income necessary for maintaining the standard of decency required of the average family in different parts of the United States. It was estimated in 1913 that an income of \$800 a year was required to enable a family to live in the stock-yards district of Chicago. The street-cleaning department of New York a little later estimated that at least \$840 a year was needed for a member of that force to support the average family of five. It was also calculated that for a family to live before the war in the average small town of about 5,000 population an income of \$600 a year was necessary. All of these ratings were probably fairly accurate. Yet how many unskilled men were able to earn even the \$600 necessary to live in the average small town? The wage for day labor ranged from \$1.25 to \$2.50 a day and on the average was about \$1.75 or \$2.00 per day, depending upon the demand in the town. If the laborer earned \$2.00 a day and worked on an average 250 days a year—an extremely high average—he failed to make the \$600 required. This meant that the extra \$100 had to be earned by the wife or children, or the family did without, unless the husband was able to earn part of it by means of a garden or some other home industry. The average wage in the stock-yards district of Chicago was not far from \$7.50 a week, and if the worker was employed forty weeks in a year—a high average again—he could earn only about \$300 of the requisite \$800. These illustrations are merely taken at random. The same condition existed everywhere. The white worker in the South could not earn a living wage. The railroads of this country before the war did not pay living wages to their section hands; the mills of our manufacturing cities did not pay their common help enuf to support families. The department stores did not give their clerks sufficient even to support themselves. The wife of the average laboring man was compelled to supplement her husband's income by going into a factory, working for her neighbors, taking in washing, or some such means. This meant that she could not attend to home duties as she should, and that the children were neglected. It meant also that the children did not have any opportunity to better their condition. It showed that there was something vitally wrong

with our whole industrial system if we would not allow the laboring man to earn enough to support a family in decency; yet such was the condition under normal times. This matter of income affects not only the laboring man but nearly all classes. It is often just as hard for a professional man to make both ends meet according to the standard demanded of him as it is for the laboring man. The minister who received only \$600 a year and the university instructor who received but \$1,000 had as big a problem as the laboring man with \$2.00 a day. Yet such salaries have been quite common. Many ministers have received less than \$600 and many of the presidents of our leading universities have been shortsighted enough to offer instructors but \$900 or \$1,000 a year, and as a result have often seen their best trained men leave them to go to smaller institutions or into other work. The ethics of offering a minister a salary of \$500 or \$600 a year or a university instructor one of \$900 or \$1,000 seems about on a par with that of the department store superintendent who would offer the salesgirl a salary of \$5 or \$6 a week and when she would complain that she could not live on it would ask her if she did not have a gentleman friend to help support her; or still more perhaps to the superintendent that would boast that his store employed only girls who lived at home. For such salaries absolutely forbid the professional man to support a family on the standard required of him. It meant that he was forbidden to marry, or if he married that he was compelled to live a life without children. Yet our churches and universities were supposed to teach morals and ethics. At the same time they have contributed to some of the problems that society has been trying to solve.

All the estimates just given were made under normal times before the Great War. During the war prices of practically all commodities rose, some of course going higher than others, but the cost of living practically doubled, in fact in some places went considerably higher. So if the estimates given above for a minimum standard of living in different sections of the country and in different industries were doubled, the result would not be far from the condition of affairs in the latter part of 1919 and the early part of 1920. At that time \$1200 would probably have been an extreme minimum for a working man's family in the average town in the United States. In some places where food was abundant and rent

did not advance very much a man could possibly support a family on less, but in many places more would be necessary. For a professional man or any representative of the so-called "middle class" \$1800 would have been possibly a conservative estimate of the necessary minimum.

To meet the increase in prices, wages in many industries went up in proportion. In some lines, especially the munition factories and those industries engaged in war work, wages more than met the advances. In many others wages were much slower to rise and for a long time in many lines did not advance at all. Business men took advantage of the shortage of commodities and the extra, general demand and increased their earnings, in many cases at an enormous rate. On the other hand professional men and those engaged on salaries were perhaps the hardest hit of all, for their salaries did not increase in proportion to the increase in prices. In some lines they did not advance at all because of the decrease in demand; this was especially true of teachers until the war was over. In other professions salaries increased but slightly until towards the end of the war or after it. In general the wages of working men in factories and in industry just kept up with increased prices; salaries did not do so.

After we settle down to normal times again, an equilibrium will be reached, but it will be a new equilibrium. Many prices will be higher, some will possibly be lower. Income, on the other hand, will be different, depending upon the new valuation placed by society upon various kinds of work. During the war emphasis was placed upon mechanical work, and professional services were not valued so highly. After normal times return, a new set of valuations will be worked out. Prices and incomes in general will settle, probably not at the old level, but somewhere lower than the high water mark of 1920. Possibly they will finally stop about halfway between the condition existing before the war and that of 1920. Conditions in 1920 are too irregular to be given as typical; those before the war are thus quoted because they are typical of a long period of normal times.

Spending of Incomes. — In many ways the spending of an income is more important than the earning of it. Many families receive enuf but do not know how to spend wisely what they earn, wasting too much on useless purchases, such as liquor, tobacco, bargain sales when the articles bought are not needed, cheap cloth, cheap food (or rich food) and extrav-

agent commodities. Some people always manage to get one hundred cents out of every dollar; others are able to get but fifty or sixty. Some people always pay more than others for the same thing. If our schools took up the teaching of real values and fair prices of ordinary articles, it might be of great help. Our settlements are taking up this work, and the visiting nurses are endeavoring to teach families how to spend their money. We see this difference in spending ability showing in all walks of life. Perhaps the college community furnishes as good an example as any other place. Some students manage to get thru college on one-half or one-third the amount of money others require and seem to have as much to show for it in the end, and often even more. Few college students know how to spend money wisely, especially if they can get an ample supply from home and do not have to worry about earning it.

Family Budgets. — Several different methods of ascertaining family expenditures have been adopted with varying degrees of success. Some of these are:

1. *The Le Play method*, originated by a French sociologist who would go to the community to be studied and live with a family which he had selected as a representative family. While living there, by means of questioning the family and the neighbors he would find out what the family spend as nearly as he would be able to do so; learn what each article of furniture, each purchase of food, clothing, or fuel cost; what was spent for amusements, tobacco, intoxicants, and sundries. Usually it would take him a month to find out all these matters. While intensive and ~~thoro~~thorough, such a method might not be correct, for the family might not be a representative one and the answers given might not be correct. It also requires a great deal of time.

2. *The Bücher Method*. — Bücher, a German sociologist, adopted the method of asking a few carefully chosen families to keep an account of their expenditures for a period of time. Then these would be taken and averaged or made use of in some way. One objection to such a system is that the certain families selected or in fact all families able to keep accurate accounts might not be typical families.

3. *The University of Chicago Plan*. — What is known as the University of Chicago plan has been used in the stockyards of Chicago. This is an intensive system, going into

details. It tries to find out exactly what is spent for each article of food and clothing and in fact every purchase of the family, classifying under different headings the cost of the clothes for each member of the family, the number of pounds of meat at so much a pound, the amount spent on car-fare, amusements, cooking utensils, etc. It of course requires the services of a trained investigator. By the use of the University of Chicago Settlement this plan has been very successfully used in Chicago; one hundred typical families were selected at one time for study; they were asked to keep their accounts in a certain way for a certain length of time, and because of their respect for the settlement and for Miss McDowell the head of that settlement, they were generally willing to do this. Under favorable conditions where the co-operation of the families can be obtained and trained investigators are used, this plan is very successful. The United States Government employs a method very similar to this only more extensive and less intensive. Such budgets are necessary in enabling us to find out anything definite in regard to a standard of living.

The following is a table of necessities which must be provided for in the budget of every family maintaining a proper standard and for which the income must be sufficient.

I. *Physical Needs.*

1. Food, sufficient in quality and quantity to keep up efficiency.
2. Clothes, sufficient to provide warmth, decency, and the degree of style required to enable one to hold one's place in the group.
3. Rent, to provide for a house of adequate space allow separation of the sexes, pure air, ventilation, and a location satisfactory as to drainage, sanitation, and healthful environment.
4. Fuel, to supply proper warmth.
5. Light, for reading purposes.
6. Medical attention, including that of dentist and oculist if necessary — not only for sickness but for prevention. As health increases the amount needed for this purposes decreases.
7. Recreation, variable in amount and kind, but sufficient to relieve the strain of life.

8. Insurance, not as a luxury but as a necessity. Provision must here be made for sickness, accident, and unemployment. There are two methods of doing this — savings and insurance.

II. *Culture Needs, Sufficient to Fit for Life.*

1. Education, at least for every child during school age.
2. Technical education, to teach necessary trade or profession.
3. Adult culture, to permit keeping up with the time to some extent.

Few people consider before marriage this proposition of budgets; possibly it is for the best, for if the problem of living were investigated many would not marry. But if it were considered more, there would be less poverty and misery to deal with. Of course the people who should consider it the most never do, and the ones who would get along satisfactorily any way are the ones who give it the most careful consideration. But that condition is true of every phase of life; those who need warnings never heed them.

A popular magazine¹ recently gave the following interesting set of family budgets for a family consisting of husband, wife, and two children under ten years of age:

SIX HUNDRED DOLLARS A YEAR

Rent at \$9.00 a month	\$108.00
Heat	50.00
Food, kerosene and laundry supplies	286.00
Clothes	94.50
• Savings and insurance	20.00
Developmental	20.00
Incidentals	21.50
	<hr/> \$600.00

NINE HUNDRED DOLLARS A YEAR

Rent at \$15.00 a month	\$180.00
Heat	65.00
Light at \$1.00 a month	12.00
Food and laundry supplies at \$6.50 a week	338.00
Clothes	150.00
Savings and insurance	75.00
Developmental	50.00
Incidentals	30.00
	<hr/> \$900.00

¹*Ladies Home Journal*, November, 1914.

TWELVE HUNDRED DOLLARS A YEAR

Rent at \$20.00 a month	\$240.00
Heat	75.00
Light at \$1.50 a month	18.00
Food and laundry supplies at \$7.00 a week	364.00
Clothes	225.00
Savings and insurance	125.00
Developmental	100.00
Incidentals	53.00

\$1200.00

FIFTEEN HUNDRED DOLLARS A YEAR

Rent at \$22 a month	\$264.00
Heat	80.00
Light at \$1.75 a month	21.00
Food and laundry supplies at \$8.00 a week	416.00
Clothes	250.00
Savings and insurance	200.00
Developmental	150.00
Incidentals	119.00

\$1500.00

EIGHTEEN HUNDRED DOLLARS A YEAR

Rent at \$25 a month	\$300.00
Heat	85.00
Light at \$1.75 a month	21.00
Food and laundry supplies at \$9.00 a week	468.00
Clothes	300.00
Savings and insurance	250.00
Developmental	200.00
Incidentals	176.00

\$1800.00

TWENTY-FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS A YEAR

Rent at \$30 a month	\$360.00
Heat	85.00
Light at \$2.00 a month	24.00
Food and laundry supplies at \$9.00 a week	468.00
Clothes	400.00
Developmental	300.00
Incidentals	363.00

\$2400.00

One fault with such a budget is that the man with the \$600 or \$900 income generally has more than two children. Also before the war too many families did not even have an income of \$600. These budgets show besides more what expenditures ought to be rather than what they are. Few

families have the ability to adjust their expenses in such a scientific manner. The preceding table has been given, not for its scientific value, but for its suggestiveness and possible usefulness to the student. The increase in prices owing to the war has upset at least temporarily the validity of these budgets, because prices of all commodities did not go up in the same proportion. While the bureau of labor statistics show that the average price of all commodities rose 138 per cent from 1913 to December, 1919, the different items varied, food rising 134 per cent, clothing (wholesale) 235 per cent, lumber and building materials 153 per cent, house furnishings 203 per cent, and farm products 144 per cent. Even with food there was a great variance, meat rising from 50 per cent to 80 per cent, butter 104 per cent, eggs 161 per cent, lard 121 per cent, flour 133 per cent, bread 179 per cent, rice 103 per cent, potatoes 153 per cent, coffee, tea, and sugar 64 per cent, 27 per cent, and 164 per cent respectively. Hence the proportions in a budget for 1920 would vary considerably from the budget of 1913, larger amounts being necessary for clothing, for example. In all probability those prices which went up the highest will resume something like their normal position, and altho prices will undoubtedly be higher after we settle down to normal conditions again than the prices before the war, their relative proportions will in all likelihood remain about the same. So our chief criticism of such a scheme is that possibly the \$600 income will be looked upon as ancient history; budgets will need to be worked out for a larger income than \$2400, as \$3000, for illustration, may be a fairly common income in the future.

Engel's Laws. — In this connection might be given Engel's laws in regard to family expenses. These have stood the test of time and are without question true in the long run. There are four of these, as follows:

1. The poorer the family the larger the proportion of the income is spent for food.
2. The expenditure for clothing remains about the same in proportion, whatever the income is. The American tendency is to increase the proportion spent for clothing as the income grows.
3. The percentage of expenditure for rent, fuel, and light also remain about the same, regardless of income. (Schwabe maintains that the percentage for rent decreases with the

increase in income.) The American tendency is to decrease the proportion spent for rent.

4. As the income increases, the percentage of money spent for sundries increases.

On the whole an increase in the rent paid denotes an increase in income for one of the first things considered is a larger and more desirable house. Yet the poor, as we shall see in our study of poverty, pay more rent in proportion to the space they occupy because of a minimum requirement. Shelter is absolutely essential, and when the amount of house room is increased beyond the minimum required for shelter, the marginal utility begins to diminish.

Infant Mortality.—Another family problem which is much less serious in the United States than in most countries is that of an unnecessarily high infant mortality. In past times this was very serious, frequently only a small proportion of the children born surviving infancy. Even in early colonial times in this country this was the condition. It is also the state of affairs in many countries today, even such countries as Italy, Austria, Spain, and Russia in normal times. During and since the war this has reached horrible proportions, children dying in the devastated areas by the millions. Countries having low standards generally have high infant death-rates. This high death-rate among children is compensated for by a high birth-rate. But such a condition is extremely expensive and holds the population upon a lower plane of civilization. Having a few children and rearing them to manhood and womanhood is preferable to giving birth to a large family and saving but a few of them. Investigations in American cities show that infant death rates are in inverse ratio to incomes; those with good incomes lose few children, while those with smaller incomes lose more and those with incomes below the minimum standard of existence have an extremely high infant death-rate. Some of the causes of infant deaths are the following:

1. Heat—This is a condition hard to regulate, but its effects can be moderated.
2. Artificial Feeding—Chances of death are five or six times as great with artificially fed babies as among those fed according to the way nature has provided.
3. Flies, which carry disease germs to the child, also

to its food. Modern campaigns of swatting the fly and still more important the removal of the breeding places of the fly, such as garbage cans, dump heaps, and waste and rubbish in general, are helping to rid the country of this pest.

4. Ignorance and uncleanness in the preparation of artificial foods.
5. Anti-natal affections, such as infections from syphilis, gonorrhea, lead poisoning, alcoholism, and over work. The first two are of course the most serious but are becoming less so with the fight against immorality and against the spread of those diseases.
6. The entrance of women into industry, producing a shorter time for rest before and after childbirth and neglect of the child after birth.
7. Ignorance and carelessness of mid-wives and attendants, thus allowing infection and blood-poisoning.
8. Patent medicines.

This problem of infant mortality can be reduced and is being done so by the elimination of the conditions which produce these causes, by such work as is being done by visiting nurses, and by the increase of general education in regard to the care of the children. Medical science is constantly discovering more causes of children's diseases and is finding cures for the diseases, even for those diseases which affect the child through infection, such as the discovery of "606" as a cure for syphilis. On the whole this is a problem with which we in the United States are grappling with increasing success.

It is needless to say that there are other problems of the family, but these have been given and discussed as perhaps the most significant ones.

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CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL ACHIEVEMENT

Social achievement is a phase of sociology which is either completely ignored or overemphasized. Professor Ward treated sociology as the study of human achievement and limited the scope of the science to that field, taking up the various institutions and showing their development. Other sociologists, on the other hand, ignore the development of society almost entirely and spend their time analyzing present-day society. In this work we shall treat the evolution of society, including the origin and development of institutions of society, as an important division of sociology. For, in order to understand present society, we must study the stages thru which the social institutions have passed. In our study of the family we found it profitable to review the history of the family before we took up the problems facing the family today. We treated the family as an institution first because it was prior to all others and because its evolution had influence upon all other phases of social development.

Stages in Social Evolution.—There have been many attempts to divide the progress of the world into stages and to classify the different peoples of the earth according to such a system. The most popular of these systems has been that attempting to divide the past into the stone age, bronze age, and iron age, depending upon the materials used by peoples in weapons. This classification is of course far too indefinite; it is also too rigid, using insufficient methods of comparison. Another classification often used, and one which is quite suggestive, is the following:

1. *Hunting and fishing stage*, when man lived by the direct appropriation of these gifts of nature. (Yet there must have been a time before man had even learned to hunt or fish.)
2. *Pastoral stage*, when man lived from his flocks and herds, which he had learned to domesticate.
3. *Agricultural stage*, after man had acquired the ability

to till the soil; thus he was able to add the fruits of cultivation to natural resources.

4. *Commercial stage*, after exchange and commerce had been developed.

5. *Industrial stage*, coming with the invention of machinery.

6. *Intellectual stage*, less carefully defined.

Such a classification is by no means bad; yet it allows no time limits and cannot be followed with any degree of accuracy. Often there have existed groups in which the women became agriculturalists while the men of the tribe still hunted and fished, as was the case with most of the American Indians. Then again the women may have continued to be agriculturalists while the men engaged in trading. Moreover quite often some of these stages have been skipped entirely, such as pastoral life because of the lack of animals suitable for domestication, and agricultural life because of the lack of fertile soil, as found in Arabia and the region of the Sahara. So it is impossible to suppose that each race has passed thru all the phases of this process.

Probably the best single classification so far attempted is that suggested by Lewis H. Morgan, which is as follows:¹

I. *Status of Savagery.*

1. Lower period, beginning with the infancy of the human race. During this period articulate speech began and man lived on fruits and nuts. No races have been found in the process of passing thru this period.
2. Middle period, which began with subsistence on fish and the use of fire, during which time man spread over the entire world. The Australians and Polynesians when discovered represented this period.
3. Upper period, beginning with the use of the bow and arrow and ending with the employment of the art of pottery; this art Morgan gives as the dividing line between savagery and barbarism. A few of the Indian tribes of North and South America represent this period, especially those of the Hudson Bay and Columbia River regions.

¹*Ancient Society*, pp. 9-13.

II. *Status of Barbarism.*

1. Lower period, which began with the use of the art of pottery, included most of the Indian tribes east of the Missouri River.
2. Middle period, beginning with the domestication of animals in the Old World and agriculture in the New, included the village Indians of New Mexico, Central America, and Peru.
3. Upper period, beginning with the smelting of iron ore and ending with the use of the phonetic alphabet, the invention of which marked the dividing line between barbarism and civilization, included according to Morgan the Grecian tribes of the Homeric Age, the Italian tribes before the founding of Rome, and the Germanic tribes of the time of Cæsar.

III. *Status of Civilization*, dating from the invention of a phonetic alphabet and extending to the present and on into the future.

If we make no attempt to put any dates to these different periods we may find this classification very useful. It is by no means arbitrary and many exceptions must be allowed. It is simply impossible to say that a tribe is savage or barbarian simply upon the test of using pottery, for a tribe may have no clay of which to make the pottery, while other tribes far less advanced may have an abundance of clay. The bow and arrow is just as faulty as a criterion, for the necessity or incentive may be entirely absent; the tribe may live on the seashore and use fish for food and therefore have no reason or opportunity to hunt, while another tribe may be compelled to invent some method of obtaining game. Strict judgment according to this invention would put many backward tribes above others that are really far more advanced in culture. In fact we must consider the influences of environment, such as the effect that grazing land would have in prolonging the pastoral life; the effect of fertility of soil in hastening or prolonging agriculture; and the effect of presence or absence of metals, before we make any attempt to classify according to any periods of progress. The domestication of animals will allow a denser population than hunting and will lead to agriculture in many cases, thus permitting still denser

population, and hastening commerce and trade. On the other hand it may discourage agriculture. In short it is very difficult to attempt to fix any hard and fast classification of the stages of social evolution. At best any such classification must be used only as an aid in our study; it must never be taken as an arbitrary rule.

Morgan¹ gives also a very interesting classification of the means of subsistence, showing successive changes in man's control over his food supply and thus indicating to a large extent his progress; for each advance in this direction gave him more time for development as well as a more stable and varied diet, thus not only affording protection against hunger and starvation but also allowing a chance for progress. Morgan's classification is as follows:

1. *Direct appropriation of the gifts of nature*, when man lived upon what he was able to gather in the way of fruits, nuts, and roots.
2. *Fish subsistence*, which preceded hunting because of lesser danger and greater dependence, for the weapons of man were crude and ineffective against wild animals, and fish were easier to catch. This diet was later supplemented by meat obtained from hunting. This period sometimes was skipped because of geographic conditions.
3. *Farinaceous diet*, first composed of grains, gathered wild and later cultivated, then supplemented by vegetables.
4. *Meat and milk diet* obtained from domestic animals, particularly the cow, llama, camel, horse, goat, sheep, and reindeer.
5. *Unlimited subsistence* thru field culture and the constant addition of new vegetables, grains, and fruits, such as the potato and maize.

There is no abrupt change from one stage to another; there is merely the addition to the supply previously known, thus adding gradually to achievement and human happiness.

The Mind of Primitive Man. — The question constantly presenting itself to the student of social evolution is, what kind of a being was primitive man? As to his body we have very little exact knowledge, for the skeletons left by him are fragmentary, seldom amounting to more than one or two bones. But from these, by the use of our imagination, we

¹*Ancient Society*, Chap. II, pp. 19-28.

have come to the conclusion that he was a squat, ugly, somewhat stooped, powerful being, half human and half animal, who sought refuge from the wild beasts first in the trees and later in caves, and that he was about halfway between the anthropoid ape and modern man. But what interests us still more in sociology is the kind of a mind this primitive man had. Was his mind half human or was it equal or nearly equal, as far as mental capacity is concerned, to that of man today? Fortunately we have more things with which to compare the mind of primitive man with the mind of the present age than we have with which to compare the body, for we have the institutions started by him and some of his inventions, for he left remains of his implements, his weapons, and his decorations, which we shall soon study. It is the generally accepted opinion among anthropologists, formed on the basis of these survivals, that primitive man had approximately the same mental ability as the present day man; that he used approximately the same mental capacity in meeting his difficulties and solving his problems as present-day man.

In connection with this question arises the question, why is it that some races today are more advanced than others? Also, why have some races progressed and others have not? The answer is that some races have achieved more than others not because they were more gifted mentally but because they were more favorably situated geographically and came into contact with more stimuli and so advanced more rapidly, and because of this we cannot claim mental superiority for the white race on the ground of greater achievement. Geography and history are the causes of the superiority or domination of the European races and their descendants rather than innate mental capacity.

Primitive races are criticized for their lack of self-control, but if we examine the matter carefully we find that primitive man exercises full control upon occasions when he deems control necessary, such as physical control under pain and torture, and endurance of hunger, thirst, and discomfort. It is also asserted that primitive man is lacking in the ability to concentrate his attention, but again basis for this statement disappears when we find that what civilized man considers as worthy of such attention primitive man does not; the latter shows equal ability to concentrate upon those things which he considers of importance, such as the perfecting of some weapon with which to hunt or the watching of habits of the

animals which he hunts. Primitive man has been also criticized because of his lack of abstract ideas, but since he has no special need for them he is not in the habit of using them, while civilized man has such a need and is accustomed therefore to use them.

"It is not impossible that the degree of development of these functions may differ somewhat among different types of man; but I do not believe that we are able at the present time to form a just valuation of the hereditary mental powers of the different races. A comparison of their languages, customs, and activities suggests that their faculties may be unequally developed but the differences are not sufficient to justify us to ascribe materially lower stages to some peoples and higher stages to others. The conclusions reached from these considerations are therefore, on the whole, negative. We are not inclined to consider the mental organization of different races of man as differing in fundamental points. Altho, therefore, the distribution of faculty among the races of man is far from being known, we can say this much: the average faculty of the white race is found in the same degree in a large portion of the individuals of all the other races, and, altho, it is probable that some of these races may not produce as large a proportion of great men as our own race, there is no reason to suppose that they are unable to reach the level of civilization represented by the bulk of our own people."

"Uniform development of culture among all the different races of man and among all the tribal units is true in a limited sense only. *** The assumption that the same forms must necessarily develop in every independent social unit can hardly be maintained. *** Whether the representatives of different races can be proved to have developed each independently, in such a way that the representatives of some races stand on low levels of culture, while others stand on high levels, may be answered in the negative. If one should make an attempt to arrange the different types of men in accordance with their industrial development we should find representatives of most diverse races — such as the Bushmen of South Africa, the Veddah of Ceylon, the Australian, and the Indian of Terra

¹Boas, "*Mind of Primitive Man*", pp. 122-123.

del Fuego — on the same lowest level. We should also find representatives of different races on more advanced levels, like the negroes of Central Africa, the Indians of the Southwestern Pueblos, and the Polynesians; and in our present period we may find representatives of the most diverse races taking part in the highest types of civilization. Thus it will be seen that there is no close relation between race and culture.”¹

On the whole we must come to the conclusion that the training of the mind, like the development of inventions, is largely a product of necessity, and that the savage is as intellectual as his environment compels him to be. The following quotation sums up very nicely our general conclusion in regard to comparative mental development:

“The directions of mental attention and the simplicity or complexity of mental processes depend on the character of the external situation which the mind has to manipulate. If the activities are simple, the mind is simple, and if the activities are nil, the mind would be nil. The mind is nothing but a means of manipulating the outside world. Number, time and space conceptions and systems become more complex and accurate, not as the human mind grows in capacity but as activities become more varied and call for more extended and accurate systems of notation and measurement.”²

Progress has been the result of environment and experiences; the accumulation of knowledge and the piling up of achievements. Some peoples have come into contact with more varied conditions than others and hence have progressed faster. Improvements in the way of preserving and passing on knowledge and achievement, such as the inventions of alphabet, printing, and means of communication, have enabled man continually to progress more and more rapidly. This conclusion that we have reached in regard to mental capacity is applicable to races and not to individuals in those races.

The Development of Language. — Language is an acquired characteristic, one which has to be learned by each individual. It was among the earliest of human institutions. By language we mean the power of rational communication in all its forms, whether oral, written, sign, or gesture; in

¹Boas, *“Mind of Primitive Man”*, pp. 195-196.

²Thomas, *“Mind of the Savage”*, in *“Source Book of Social Origins”*, p. 163.

fact it is much broader than oral speech. The use of language is a distinctly human achievement, requiring rational capacity not possessed by animals. Language is the result of the struggle of men to understand each other. It is a product of the mind, yet it aids in the development of the mind; it is the result of that; it is the attempt to express that; moreover language stimulates that and thus leads to greater achievement. Language and social consciousness go together; in fact thinking is done largely by means of language.

The language (so-called) of animals is chiefly one of interjections; that of early man was undoubtedly much the same, consisting of ejaculatory cries expressing the emotions, such as joy, hate, surprise, fear, love, or satisfaction. This is not language, however, as we consider the term today, for it did not express that but merely indicated emotion. After the interjection the noun was the next part of speech invented; it came as a result of the effort of man to name objects. Generally these names were suggested by some characteristic of the object, but not necessarily so. Often different persons in widely separated times or places would be impressed by different features of the same object, and there would result a difference in names. Sometimes there was no obvious connection between the object and the name, the name being merely a result of an effort to distinguish the object. After nouns verbs came in, expressing action; then later came words corresponding to the other parts of speech as we now know them. Spoken language developed gradually but proceeded in all probability with greater rapidity as soon as a start was made. As man began to adopt a more or less settled place of abode and thus came to associate more constantly with his fellowmen, greater need of better means of communication became evident; as a result of this need, language assumed by degrees a more definite form and man's vocabulary gradually grew larger.

Communication with those present was not sufficient, and in fact was not always possible even with spoken language, for languages differed; therefore other means had to be adopted — the sign language, which became universal and possibly preceded spoken language. Besides man found a need to communicate with those at a distance both in space and in time and so extensions of language had to be invented. As a result sign language by means of smoke signals or drum beats, such as are used by natives of Africa and formerly

by the American Indians, came into use to overcome space distances. Written language was invented to enable those distant in time to gain information. The first written language took the form of reminders, such as notches cut in sticks, which the messengers among the Australians carry, in order not to forget their message. The next step is picture or symbol language, pictures of objects being drawn or symbols used to designate them. The early writing of Egypt took this form. A later step was the invention of a phonetic alphabet, where symbols or letters represent sounds, like those in use today by civilized man. Another great step was the invention of printing — possibly as great an aid to civilization as the art of writing, for while writing allowed a record to be made of the past, printing put that record within the reach of all the people. Before writing came into use, all history, discoveries, and knowledge had to be handed down from mouth to mouth, risking the great chance of being distorted and lost. Before printing was invented records had to be copied laboriously by hand and thus were expensive and brot within the reach of only a few; printing made knowledge democratic. Improvements in printing, which in the modern press, linotype and monotype machines have reached a highly complex stage, have added powerful means for the popularization of knowledge.

Language is by no means perfected; we are constantly increasing our vocabulary and changing our forms, both in spelling and in grammar. Simplified spelling is one of the most important improvements before us today in this country. Grammar reforms are constantly appearing, attempting either to make our language fuller in its meaning or simpler in form. We are steadily discarding variations in our declensions and conjugations and are expressing meaning more thru the use of modifiers. New words are constantly appearing, some resulting from the putting together of old words in order to furnish names for new objects or to suggest a new meaning; some are borrowed from other languages for these purposes — a method popular with the English language, which has drawn so heavily from the Latin, Greek and Romance languages for this purpose. Then again new words are constantly being coined; many of these are at first discredited, especially are "slang" words, but after a time some of them find their way into our dictionaries and are recognized as

legitimate. New situations and experiences also bring in new words, as illustrated by the recent war.

Thus language, while a product of socialization, has made further socialization possible. Without it modern civilization would be impossible. It is the product of mind and at the same time acts in all probability as the mind's greatest stimulant. It is perhaps man's greatest social achievement.

Inventions. — A product of the mind of man, one which furnishes us an excellent guide by which to study the social evolution of man, is invention. Inventions give us means of comparing primitive with civilized man. They also serve as landmarks of progress. Inventions, however, are influenced by the geographic environment, for they are the results of the efforts of man to fill his needs; they are the products of necessity. Nature serves as a stimulus in this way; if there are wild animals there is the incentive for the invention of weapons, like the bow and arrow, or traps, such as the dead-fall; and if the people gain their food from the water, they turn the same mental capacity towards the inventing of nets, hooks, pounds, and boats; if agriculture is the means of livelihood, the inventive ability will be turned to the shaping of hoes, plows, and methods of irrigation; if food is scarce in winter, methods of preserving will be invented — freezing, smoking, drying and curing of meat and fish; the drying of fruits, the storing of grain, and later in civilization the canning of all kinds of food; if man lives near water he will invent boats, fashioning them out of whatever material is available, particularly tree trunks, bark or skins. The same is true with all inventions; environment and necessity have been the mainsprings of mental activity, the former to suggest and the latter to compel. In regard to weapons it has been suggested that man obtained the idea of many of these from the animals about him, getting the pattern of the spear from those animals with horns or tusks; of the bow from the bending limb or sapling in the forest; of knives, daggers, and notched weapons from the teeth of animals; of the use of poisons from poisonous insects and reptiles; of defensive weapons, particularly shields and armor from the tough hides of such animals as the rhinoceros and buffalo; of armor in the form of plates or scales from the alligator. These were all undoubtedly suggestive, and the fact that man was physically weaker than many of the animals around him compelled him to seek aid. The club was possibly the first invention and was largely the

result of the need felt by man to hit harder and at a greater distance than his fist would allow. Spears and slings were improvements on the club; the bow and arrow was another step in advance, and it in turn had to give way to the gun fired by gunpowder. Combat not only with the animals but with other men compelled man to improve his weapons. The tribe or band which had the better weapons won, and that having inferior equipment was defeated. Thus man was compelled to adopt the best weapons that he could find; individuals or groups who did not were exterminated.

Primitive inventions showed as great mental capacity and genius as modern inventions, in fact we often think that they were really greater achievements. The attainment to the use of fire was as great an achievement as the discovery of electricity and had a far greater effect upon society. The invention of the modern 42-centimeter gun, the high power rifle, and machine gun are no greater achievements than was the construction of the first bow and arrow, of which they are merely improvements; the theory is the same, that of throwing a missile. The contrivance of the alphabet was in one respect a greater achievement than that of the modern printing press, for the press could never have been possible without the alphabet. Glass-ware and china show merely the continuation of the idea which produced pottery. In short, modern inventions are in most cases merely improvements upon primitive inventions. Nearly every new device or machine produced today is nothing more than an improvement of some previous device or machine.

It is astonishing to see how many of our modern tools and mechanical devices are known by primitive man, not of course in their present finished state but in a cruder and less effective form. Primitive man had the idea and the method; we have merely improved upon the product. In regard to instruments of cutting, primitive man had knives, shears, planes, axes, chisels, smoothers, scrapers, polishers, and saws. They were to be sure made of stone, bones, shells, teeth, and pieces of stick, but great ingenuity was used in fitting of handles by means of grooves, boring of holes, riveting, glueing, and lashing. Instruments of piercing were made such as awls, gimlets, and needles. Tongs, nippers, vices, and presses were also used, and also all kinds of ingenious methods of tying knots and fastening articles together.

Perhaps much greater in the way of achievement was the

employment of many of the principles of mechanics and the laws of physics, particularly those underlying the use of the lever, wedge, wheel and axle, pulley, screw, inclined plane, and roller, all of which primitive man made use of in his every day life, using the wedge to split trees, the pulley to haul great weights, the lever to lift heavy bodies, and the inclined plane to get a heavy object upon a high place. Scales and balances were also in common use with primitive man. The savage may never have understood the laws governing these tools, and in all probability never realized that there might have been such a thing as a law. But the use of these devices goes to point out that primitive man had as good a mind as civilized man, only it was not so well trained. Civilization is the result of the accumulation of knowledge; progress is simply the piling up of achievement.

In his battle with nature man has proved superior and has subjected nature to his will. Animals have been transformed by their environment but man has proved himself master to it. He has been influenced by nature altho he has never become her slave; he has compelled her to serve him. While progress at first may have been accidental, it eventually became telic, or purposeful. Man has never been willing to leave well enuf alone and has persistently refused to be dominated or hindered by nature; he has steadily thrown off her bonds and become her master. Matter and motion cannot be destroyed but they can be transformed into channels useful to man; this transformation is what invention has done. Inventions have been by no means sudden discoveries; they are slow growths or the accumulations of ideas. At first invention was extremely slow, but as man progressed it became more rapid; thru the betterment of means of communication the invention of a few things caused other inventions to spring up. Also invention and discovery have been reciprocal, invention leading to discovery and discovery ushering in invention. We had to discover the powers of steam and electricity before we could invent the steam engine or the telegraph; these inventions led to further discoveries, which in turn made possible other inventions. Inventions have enabled man to make better use of the gifts of nature. They have also acted as mile-stones of progress, ushering in periods of greater accomplishment. They are human achievements, made possible by man's superior mental ability.

Evolution of Property. — At first man had no property, unless we can call unconsumed food property, for he was simply an animal among animals. Since property depends upon invention, probably the first definite form of property was the club; to this was added other weapons as they were constructed. Then articles of personal use came in, such as cooking utensils, traps, hooks, nets, and in fact all of those articles which a savage would use to aid him in the battle with nature. Clothes and articles of ornament were added later, for originally man wore no clothes. Clothes appeared first as ornaments and were not adopted for the sake of modesty or for warmth; both of these functions developed, for after man grew accustomed to wearing clothes a sense of modesty developed and he became ashamed to go without them. The use of clothing for warmth is likewise the result of habit. These clothes were made of skins, bark, leaves, and grasses woven together. All manner of ornaments came into use, from the most primitive efforts at decoration down to the costly jewels and apparel created during later periods of luxury. With the appearance of pastoral life property in flocks and herds developed among pastoral peoples. Also with this period but more especially with the development of agriculture land began to be held as property, that is, land which was suitable for grazing and agricultural purposes, land which was well watered and fertile or which was near some water hole. Before this, land in the shape of some favorite cave or spot desired for residential purposes was held as property, provided the person was strong enough to hold possession of it.

Early life was more or less communistic; only the strongest and quickest had a choice; and a person held his own property by reason of the strong arm or lost it to someone else by lack of it. But as inventions created property, government (as we shall see in the next chapter) slowly developed and laid down rules for its ownership, thus acknowledging the right of private property. In fact the holding of private property was one of the great incentives towards government, demanding definite rules, executives to enforce them, and judges to decide disputes. With the development of the idea of property came in mediums of exchange. At first articles were exchanged by means of barter, where one person having some article which he wished to exchange for others was obliged to find someone having the desired article who was willing to exchange with him. This was too clumsy a

method and there slowly arose the idea of exchanging for some article of universal demand which could easily be given for the ultimately desired article. For mediums of exchange were used common articles of food; rice, wheat, maize, fish, beans, nuts, figs, dates, salt, cocoanuts, tea, coffee; or some article of clothing, as furs, cotton, silk, domestic animals, especially cattle; articles of ornament, as beads, wampum, feathers, or paint; slaves; even women; and finally the precious metals. Articles had to be selected which all or many wanted, which had some standard of value, and which were easily transported. Market places came into use and often were very highly developed even among primitive savages, certain places being set aside in the forest and rules laid down to protect those going to and coming from them. Barter was used at first at these market places but advantage was later taken of the prevailing mediums of exchange. The development of property has steadily increased as civilization has progressed and greater accumulations have developed. Laws have been made to protect property, at times to such an extent that property is better protected even than human life itself. Just now the tendency is, however, away from this.

Evolution of Industry. — Property led to industrial development. To bring about industry division of labor was necessary. The first division of labor was that between man and woman, man doing the hunting, fishing, trapping, herding, and fighting, while woman cared for the children and did the cooking and the work about the camp, generally including agriculture. Then gradually different men found out that they could do some one thing better than another and so did that one thing, exchanging their products for the products of others. Some found out that they were especially skilled in making bows and arrows or wampum, or knew how to make superior canoes; this was particularly true of the American Indians. Among African tribes smithing is a trade followed by some, others bringing their iron work to them. Barter and exchange made this specialization possible and with the development of exchange and trade it increased. During the feudal times handicrafts appeared, certain towns developing certain industries, the secrets of which were handed down from father to son. In countries where slavery was highly developed slave labor was organized along such lines, slaves being taught different trades; many estates were highly organized, having hundreds and thousands of

slaves following scores of occupations. Later guilds sprang up, especially in the towns of Germany. These were really closed trade unions, which kept the secrets of the different trades and limited the number of apprentices. In this way manufacturing began at home, even weaving being carried on in the houses of the workers. Then with the invention of the steam engine, power loom, and numerous other machines, home industry was driven to the wall by the greater efficiency of machine industry and the factory age was ushered in. This change produced endless suffering, terrible poverty, and increased the burdens of labor; but it of course increased production and in the end was a blessing. This system is still further changing into what is often called "big business", or the concentration of capital in large industries, a process which in turn has caused much confusion by crowding small industries to the wall. With the increase in size of industry there has come a greater division of labor. Under the handicraft system a man generally constructed entirely an article, like a pair of shoes, a chair, or a carriage. With the division of labor in the present-day factory he does only a part, passing on the uncompleted article to some one else, who adds another touch and passes it on to still another. This method has been so highly developed by the invention of modern machinery that an ordinary article, like a shoe or a hat, passes thru hundreds of hands in the factory itself, to say nothing of those who handle the raw material before it reaches the factory and those who transport and sell the finished article. This division has enabled man to become highly skilled and to produce in large quantities, and so has enabled society to have more commodities than otherwise would have been possible, but it has also brot in problems, as we shall see later.

Social Effects of Industrial Development. — The first great benefit of industrial development to society is of course increased production, since it furnishes a greater mass of commodities with which to satisfy human desires and allows man continually to advance in social progress. But this very accumulation of wealth has accentuated the problem of distribution, for never in the history of the world has there been anything like an equal distribution of wealth, the strong always having a monopoly; today strength has changed from physical strength to mental shrewdness and ingenuity. This unequal distribution, while necessary and often just, has led to end-

less disputes, class conflicts, and antagonism. Under the handicraft stage the worker was also the proprietor and had what he produced, but under the present industrial system the laborer works for wages, which are set by the supply and demand for labor and are not governed, except as to the upper limit, by the productivity of the labor. In this way labor has often been exploited, notoriously so at the beginning of the industrial revolution in England in the early years of the nineteenth century, when the employer paid as small wages as possible. This caused organizations of labor to resist exploitation, bringing on conflicts between capital and labor in the way of strikes, and lockouts, which often were carried to extreme violence on both sides. The present tendency is towards the arbitration of labor disputes, such a method having been already achieved in some countries, particularly New Zealand. Both capital and labor oppose this movement, however, both preferring to settle such disputes by struggle.

The development of industry has not only allowed each worker to produce more but has enabled him to do so in a shorter time. Modern factory hours are far shorter than hours of labor under the handicraft stage and the modern workman has far less anxiety in regard to obtaining food, clothing, and shelter for himself and family than did primitive man, who was obliged to rely wholly upon his own efforts. But the building up of factory towns has caused neglect of the comforts of the workers, often producing poor dwellings, lack of sanitation, bad surroundings, and unpleasant home life. Factory conditions have not always been sanitary and hygienic; in fact they have as a rule been just the opposite. This situation has compelled society to take a stand and, either thru public opinion or legislative enactment, forced factory owners to look after the welfare of their workers. Industrial development has built up a complicated system of co-operation, yet in this machine too often the laborer has become a mere cog, his individuality being stamped out and his very welfare ignored. The present machine process, where each worker merely adds one touch to an article, passes it on, takes up another, and performs the same operation, is deadening to his nerves and dulls his physical and mental process. He becomes a mere piece of the whole mechanism.

The invention of machines has made man's labor less violent physically but has at the same time ushered in child and women labor because a child or woman can often tend a

machine as easily as a man. This thru the operation of the law of supply and demand, has kept the wages of man down by means of competition. Industrial development has given the opportunity of providing man greater time for leisure, rest, recreation, and education but the laborer has not always been allowed to receive the benefit of this, the chance too frequently being monopolized by the employed and used in building up a fortune, only to be wasted by his family in luxurious living. This condition is steadily growing less serious for the worker is demanding shorter hours and larger pay and is steadily gaining these demands — so much so that some of us are even becoming alarmed because of it. But at the beginning of the industrial revolution and along thru the first few decades of the past century wages were too often starvation wages. Twelve to sixteen hours work constituted the working day and conditions were terrible, in fact hardly believable, children being treated worse than slaves, especially in the English factories; at the same time the factory owners were amassing immense fortunes and reveling in luxury. Such conditions could not be permanent if civilization was to advance, and fortunately are now a thing of the past in most countries. Industrial development has made man's existence more certain by insuring him labor; yet industrial development has made the laborer dependent upon the factory and has put the possibility of work in the hands of others. When a board of directors decides that a factory is not paying dividends it closes down the plant until the conditions of the market change; meanwhile the workers are deprived of a chance to earn a living. In other words, dividends are of greater importance than the subsistence of the workers. This same development has made man's life less dangerous than formerly, yet it has put his safety into the hands of others. We are commencing to solve these problems by providing sickness, accident, and unemployment insurance, which are incidental to the industrial evolution. Thus while industrial evolution has increased happiness and prosperity it has brot in its problems. Also as we solve these problems new ones arise and in turn have to be dealt with.

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CHAPTER XII

THE STATE

By state we mean the political organization of individuals of a more or less definitely bounded geographical territory for the purpose of protection or preservation of the group. It differs slightly from government, the organ thru which the state expresses itself, or the form which the state takes in expressing its control. The term state is much broader than that of government, for it includes all the individuals in the geographical territory, while government refers only to the individuals in the actual organization. The state embodies not only a territory and a population, but also unity and organization. It includes a political scheme with its laws, officials, and machinery of governing; also it implies some kind of co-operation among its members. In this study we shall not make an attempt to cover the subject of political science or government, but shall treat the state merely as a social institution, noticing its origin and development. In another chapter we shall take up law as a means of social control.

Origin of the State. — *Different Theories.* — Because the state existed long before we have any recorded history, its exact origin, or origins, are not definitely known, but are largely a matter of conjecture or of theory. The facts of history and the conditions found today among primitive people, however, point back to some forms and characteristics of the primitive state, and from these, certain more or less definite conclusions have been drawn. Some of these theories which have held sway are the following:

1. *Theory of Divine Right.* — According to the theory of divine right theory the Supreme Being selected certain individuals and ordained that they should rule and govern the rest. This theory was widely used in Europe by weak monarchs, especially the Stuarts and Bourbons, to create respect for themselves and thus to enable themselves to manage positions otherwise too big for them; it was still more recently

set forth by the Hohenzollerns to justify their selfish aims. This theory has at times performed valuable social service by creating respect for government, thus enabling civilization to progress. It is needless to say that this theory, popularly known as "divine right of kings", is no longer held by scientific men, altho formerly many did try, either conscientiously or pusilanimously, to do so, some even writing large volumes in its defense.

2. *Social Contract*. — The theory of social contract, which was advocated by such men as Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, has more validity than that of divine right. According to it the state is the result of the voluntary agreement of the individual members of the state, who come together and form a contract for some definite organization. This agreement came about, it was argued, from the feeling of the need of some method of organization and control. The union of the Swiss cantons and of the American colonies into republics is often given as proof of this theory. While there is a great deal of argument offered not only in these illustrations but in the formation of many other states, we cannot accept this idea of the origin of the state for the simple reason that the state came into existence before the savage had reached that state in civilization when he was able to appreciate the need of any such organization; in other words the state came into being before such an origin could have been possible. With modern states or with those formed after the people had reached a comparatively high stage of culture this idea of contract has played some part, but even here it is only one of the various factors going to make up the origin of the state. So while we are obliged to give this theory some credit, we shall be required to reject it as the theory completely accounting for the origin of the state.

3. *Origin Thru Struggle*. — According to another idea the state is the direct result of race struggle, the weaker bands being conquered by the stronger and a state being formed out of their union. Professor Ward was perhaps the best advocate of this theory, developing the idea according to the following steps or stages:

(a). *Subjugation of One Race by Another*. — When a wandering band was going along some river or seashore or up a mountain valley, it might meet another band going in the opposite direction. After futile attempts to communicate with each other each would look upon the other as an enemy and

would immediately try to exterminate it. The fight would last until one band or the other was either exterminated or driven from the field. After the encounter the victors might even eat the bodies of the fallen foes and in this way originate cannibalism; also they might slay the captives and eat them. But soon they would find out that it was more advantageous to enslave their captives, thus being able to make use of them thruout their life — a more profitable procedure than the eating of them; moreover upon necessity or desire they could at any time be eaten. At first the women were enslaved and made to serve as wives or concubines; then later the men were put into bondage. Slavery continued until the conquerors found it more profitable or advantageous to allow the conquered ones their own liberty, granting them the right to live in their own homes and to govern their own lives, but regarding them as inferiors subject to the conquerors. This gave rise to the second stage.

(b). *Origin of Caste.*— After slavery was found to be too cumbersome, the enactment of tribute took its place. With this as an incentive bands of warriors who excelled because of superior weapons or organization would be formed to go out on plundering expeditions. Sometimes they would conquer a region which they would prefer to their own territory and would decide to settle down upon the people they had conquered, exacting tribute from them. At first each people would hate the other, and the conquerors by virtue of their superiority would reduce the defeated peoples to a position of inequality, not allowing them any rights and compelling them to give way to their conquerors but to serve them when needed. This would cause a somewhat hard and fast caste to be formed, such as we have in some countries even down to the present date; India is a good example of this condition. Generally there would develop a middle group, usually a trading class, as an intermediary between these two castes. But there would gradually arise a third condition, which was the result of acquaintance.

(c). *A Gradual Mitigation of the Condition of Caste.*— After living near each other for a long time each group would become reconciled to each other; the conquerors would see some good in the people they had despised and the conquered would scorn to a lesser degree those who had defeated them. Since they would be obliged to associate with each other, their race hatred would diminish. Then, too, they would inter-

marry, the conquerors taking as wives the most beautiful of the women of the conquered, who would not indeed always be adverse to it. This would cause the rulers to see that their serfs were human beings like themselves and therefore deserved some consideration, so there would gradually result a mitigation of the selfish and arbitrary rule of the stronger party. While there would yet be a state of marked individual, social, and political inequality, there was a great improvement, which easily led to a further stage.

(d). *Substitution of a Form of Law, With the Origin of Legal Right, for the Purely Military Rule of the Conquerors.*

— Before the creation of a sense of legal right punishment of crime was entirely at the pleasure of the conquerors, whose rule was absolute. With the recognition of the fact that the lower caste was composed of human beings who acted and felt like themselves they came to recognize that these same people had some rights—a point of view much accelerated by intermarriage. This caused the laying down of sets or codes of law, first spoken rules and later written laws, which governed the action of the lower caste and regulated their treatment at the hands of the upper caste. The same would be true in regard to property rights, at first all property being regarded as belonging to the conquerors, but later being allowed to the lower caste.

(e). *The Origin of the State.* — When organization reached the stage known as the state, all classes had both rights and duties. The development of law required some system to enforce it; thus there developed a form of government, its forms depending upon the people and the environmental conditions. This usually took a monarchical form, the rule being delegated to chiefs, either selected or self-appointed, who passed their power on to their descendants. With the growth of population others were brot into the government, and in this way the various forms of government evolved.

(f). *The Cementing Together of All This Mass of Heterogeneous Elements into a More or Less Homogeneous People.*

— With the mitigation of class hatred, the relaxation of the arbitrary rule of the upper caste, and the development of a spirit of mutual dependence there would develop a mingling of all classes. The upper classes depended upon the lower classes for soldiers to fill the army; merchants looked to them for customers, and industry drew upon them for laborers. The lower classes relied upon the upper classes for laws, pro-

tection, and leadership. Thus there would come a survival of the best elements in all divisions of society. The customs, habits, religions and institutions which were superior or best adapted to conditions would be adopted. In this way there would be a welding together of all elements and the resulting institutions would be superior to those possessed by either band before the conquest.

(g). *Rise and Development of a Sentiment of Patriotism and the Formation of a Nation.* — When some great danger, such as invasion by a foreign foe, would come up, there would arise a realization of a feeling of patriotism, a sentiment of attachment to the land and a recognition of common interests, and all would unite to ward off the danger; but what would be still more important, the different factions would be welded into a nation.

While the struggle theory would admit of peaceful assimilation, the formation of the state, like the formation of most institutions, would be primarily the product of struggle or of competition, and thru this method we would advance. There is no question that many states were evolved in this manner, but the struggle theory is too narrow to explain the formation of all states. Many states were the results of other methods, altho probably no state came into existence without experiencing some competition and struggle. Undoubtedly it was the strongest element in the formation of the state. In modern times it has softened down, and many of the earlier stages have been omitted. As a single explanation it is the most plausible of any yet suggested, but it is not the whole solution.

4. *Origin of the State Thru the Family.* — Another theory often advanced (with a great deal of historical backing in its favor) is that the state is the direct outgrowth of the family, especially of the patriarchal family, where the father was the head of the household as long as he lived. Not only was he head of the family; he was priest, lawgiver and judge as well. He was head not only of his own family but of the entire band of relatives, and as this group enlarged the patriarch remained the ruler, passing his authority on to his eldest son and in this way developing a line of rulers. As the affairs needing attention increased in numbers, he divided the work or appointed others to help him discharge

his many duties, delegating certain work to each one.¹ Morgan², in accord with this theory, develops the state from the family thru the gens, a collection of related families; the phratry, a collection of allied or related gentes; the tribe, a number of allied phratries; and the nation or state, an organization of tribes. He based his theory upon evidence found among the Iroquois and Aztec Indians and the early Greeks and Romans. The first early organizations were undoubtedly outgrowths of the family, and in many places the state can be directly traced from the family. But when we attempt to say that the state as an institution is merely the outgrowth of the family, we meet with the same defect that we find in the other theories already advanced — it is too narrow a foundation; influences existing outside the family come in to help mold the state. It was one of the sources of origin, in fact one of the chief sources; but it was by no means the only source.

5. *The Evolutionary Origin.* — By the theory of evolutionary origin is meant that we cannot trace the origin of the state back to any single plan; that the state was not an invention but a growth, an evolution; that its growth was a gradual process; that it is the product of many forces and developed in different countries in different ways, depending upon the forces brot to bear upon it. Not only race struggle, kinship, and the need for protection affected it, but also religion, climate, geographical location, and industrial development. In short the state is a product of society, improving with the progress of society. The growth of the state has been swifter in some places than in others, because, conditions being more favorable, man developed more rapidly in those sections. For this reason we find the state better developed in Europe and America than in Asia and Africa. The same conditions are not favorable to all institutions; for instance, those favorable to the state might not be conducive to religion, and those advantageous to industry might not be stimulative to art. But the state was affected the same as other institutions were affected, that is, it grew rapidly where conditions were favorable and slowly where conditions were unfavorable. In order to get a clear understanding of the development of the state we must consider some of these forces that influenced its development.

¹Illustrated by Exodus XVIII: 13-26.

²Morgan, "*Ancient Society*", Part II.

Factors Entering Into the Development of the State.

— A study of the development of the state would not be complete without some consideration of the factors entering into its formation, but we can take time to mention only a few; a study of all the forces would be a consideration of all the influences affecting society in general. We have already considered kinship, which was so important that many writers have called the family the origin of the state. In chapter on geographical influences we considered the effect of location upon the development of society and saw that the geographical conditions determine to a large extent the nature of the government and the size, importance, and character of the state; that if located in the track of civilization, its progress will be rapid, but if left outside of this track, the state may remain dwarfed and primitive. Natural boundaries may make a strong government unnecessary, while unprotected frontiers may compel such a development. The natural situation also helps to determine the form of the government. The neighbors which a state has influence its development; if they are warlike, they will strengthen the authority of the government of the state and will tend to cause centralization of power in the hands of a few and the organization of a military or naval defense. The character of the neighbors determines whether a country will be conquered or whether its people will themselves turn conquerors. Richness of natural resources will invite conquest, and scarcity of neighbors will insure against invasion. Isolation will tempt stagnation in that it provides no incentive to progress. In short geographical location and environment are extremely important and must not be neglected when we trace the evolution of the state. It is the disregard of this factor that lays such theories as the contract and force theories open to criticism and refutation.

Wealth and industry are important factors in the development of the state. When personal property rights became recognized there arose the need of some means of protecting property, of some rules in regard to its ownership, and of some authority to carry out these rules. These were some of motives prompting man to organize government, some of the needs which had to be filled. When property was developed still further and the various forms of industry arose, the need for protection increased, and more steps were taken to insure it. This fact caused those having wealth to take

greater interest in government and to attempt to get control of affairs. Where industry has reached the greatest development, there we find the strongest influence exercised by the wealthy classes, especially if the control of industry is centered in the hands of a few. If on the other hand the wealth is evenly distributed, the government is democratic. The nature of the prevailing industry must also be considered. Pastoral life tended towards a patriarchal system and brot with it slavery and absolute obedience to the ruler. Agricultural life caused disputes over boundaries and water holes, and occasioned the need of rules in regard to them. Hunting and fishing called for rules governing the division of game. The accumulation of property is largely the basis of social classification, producing such distinctions as master and slave, lord and serf, employer and employee, and capital and labor. In this way governing classes have originated based to a large extent upon the ownership of property.

Religion is a factor which is both neglected and over emphasized. Religion has helped to give social discipline, for it has been a force holding the group together, restraining the wayward and radical. It has been of aid in teaching respect for those in power, for at first the religious and the political leaders were the same, and later were in close alliance. In this way religion has helped bring about much greater progress in political organization than would have been possible without it. At first religion was a tribal affair and not a matter of individual concern, and the chief was supposed to have divine sanction, thus adding to his power. Later states incorporated religion into the government, as was done particularly by the Hebrews, and in varying degrees by the Romans, Spanish, French, English, Chinese, and Russians. On the other hand, religion has called upon the state to carry out its commands and to enlarge its influence, the Roman Catholic and Mohammedan faiths particularly, and even the Church of England and the Puritans doing so. Religion has compelled the state to make laws in its favor, especially laws against sacrilege, non-observance of the Sabbath, and the breaking of religious customs. In recent years we have drifted away from this idea of joining of church and state; we have come to the conclusion that the two ought to be separated; but at one time in many, if not in the majority, of races the idea was held that they either were synonymous or went hand in hand.

The contribution of individual will power must not be wholly neglected, altho modern history is giving less and less space to the military heroes and great kings of old. Conquests have often been the result of individual selfishness backed up by military power; examples are those of Babylon, Assyria, and Persia; of the Greeks under Alexander; the majority of the Roman conquests; those of many of the rulers of Europe during the Middle Ages; and particularly in recent times the campaigns of Napoleon and the bid for world power made by Germany in 1914. Conquests have been made in order to extend boundaries, smaller and less powerful states being absorbed, sometimes by more or less peaceful means, as the formation of the late German Empire, but more often by warlike means. The conquests of Poland, Hungary, and Ireland, which were fiercely opposed, and of Finland and India, which were less strongly resisted, are examples of this forceful method. Sometimes states break up after the death of the founder, crumbling like the empire of Alexander. Again when the central power becomes weak, the state either breaks up or loses its outlying provinces; in this way the Roman Empire broke up and Spain lost all her possessions. Often upon the death of a king his children divide up the empire, as the kingdom of Charlemagne was dismembered. Then, again, if the different elements are not welded together and thoroly assimilated, they often break apart; sometimes after struggle, as the Balkan provinces and Greece broke away from Turkey; and sometimes peaceably, as in the separation of Norway and Sweden in 1905. Now and then colonies are formed to be of help to the mother country, and very frequently they become alienated in interests and spirit and finally detach themselves, perhaps because of injustice and misrule, or simply because of the growth of different interests, the Greek colonies, the Spanish possessions in America, and the American colonies being examples. But as a rule ever since the entire globe has been inhabited, the tendency has been to unite, for the stronger to absorb the weaker. This process has been going on for thousands of years and is still going on, occasionally thru peaceably union, but more frequently thru force, the stronger unit subjugating the weaker or compelling it to come into the union. In fact the modern state is often made up of very heterogeneous elements, being the result of conquests, trades, and treaties. The map of Europe before the great war furnished a proof of this, perhaps

the most striking illustration being that of Austria-Hungary. So great was this absorption of the weak by the strong that the peace conference found it practically impossible to restore to smaller nationalities their former liberties.

Functions of the State. — Nearly every writer on politics defines in some manner or other the functions of the state. These definitions all differ in detail, altho most of them now agree in the fundamental principles. As time goes on and the state develops, it assumes more and more functions which formerly were delegated to other institutions. It has taken over many functions from religion, as the care of dependents; from the family, particularly education of the children; and from the individual, as the punishment of crime. The state is constantly adding to its duties and enlarging its powers. The following, however, may be given as the leading offices of the state as we conceive them today.

1. *The Preservation and Maintenance of National Integrity.* — Before a state can do much of anything it must be certain of its own existence. It must protect itself from foreign enemies and from the encroachments of other states; it must also insure itself against insurrections of its own citizens. To do this it is obliged to maintain armies, navies, and police systems with all their appurtenances as forts, spies, and detectives.

2. *The Protection of Life and Property of Its Citizens, Including the Right to Transfer and Inherit Property.* — This was one of the first functions (and is yet a primary one) of the state — the protection of its citizens from violence both from foreign enemies and from other members of the state. Lawless elements must always be held in restraint; the power to do this is the first test of a state, for if life and property are not safe the country cannot progress; if a state cannot protect life and property it is weak and soon falls a victim to a stronger state.

3. *The Making and Enforcing of Laws, Including the Defining of Crime and Its Punishment.* — This function really includes many others, but because it is one of the first to be assumed, the others coming in as later developments, it is mentioned separately. This function was maintained by the ancient rulers, the earliest chiefs, who ruled by reason of the strong arm; it was performed also by the patriarchs. It has never been relinquished; on the contrary it has been added to. The punishment of crime was originally, however, largely a

family or individual duty; it has now been appropriated entirely as a state function. At first these laws were merely arbitrary rules laid down at the pleasure of the rulers, altho even then the protection of the group and to some extent of the individuals in the group was considered, but the tendency has been to put greater and greater stress upon what is for the best interests of society. In order to protect the individuals and its own self the state is obliged to define crime and to affix penalties for the breaking of laws. To accomplish these offices requires legislative machinery.

4. *The Administration of Justice, not Only Between the State and Its Citizens, but Among the Citizens Themselves.* — To do this judges and courts have been instituted to make the decisions and to see that justice is given.

5. *The Defining of Relationships, Duties, Obligations, and Privileges Within the State.* — This includes the defining of the relationships among members of families, the rights of individuals, and those of institutions within the state.

6. *The Regulation of Contracts, Including Debts, Obligations, Etc.* — In order to allow the greatest freedom of opportunity and to accomplish the administration of justice the state is obliged to see that contracts are legal and valid. This care is necessary to insure the stability of business and the development of industry, as well as the protection of the individual.

These six offices of the state are the leading functions generally agreed upon, but there are coming into existence functions which formerly were not considered as belonging to the state, but were left entirely to other institutions. Even now there is not always uniformity of opinion in regard to their falling to the state, being sometimes considered as optional functions. But we shall treat them simply as duties imposed upon the modern state.

7. *The Regulation of Industry, Trade, and Labor Conditions.* — The regulation of industry is now being attempted by the state, taking such forms as the curbing of trusts, the preventing of the crushing of competition, the requirement of honesty in business relations, and the control over labor disputes, enuf at least to insure the protection of the public against strikes and lockouts. Compulsory arbitration, minimum wage, the eight-hour day, and governmental commissions, such as the Inter-state Commerce Commission and Federal Trade Commission, are examples resulting from the appli-

cation of this function. The regulation of wages and provision of social insurance against unemployment, sickness, and accident under this office. Formerly these were considered individual affairs but it is now being more and more considered as the functions of the state to regulate such matters.

8. *The Protection of Public Health.*—Requirements for sanitation, protection against contagious diseases, inspection of factories, requirement of safety devices for dangerous machinery, building codes, milk inspection, street cleaning, anti-spitting laws, sewage and garbage disposal, and laws forbidding the adulteration of foods are good illustrations of the working out of the public health protection office of the state. This is a function which is being constantly extended.

9. *Education.*—Until very recently education was a private matter; in fact when the socialists first began to advocate public education, it was considered a radical if not dangerous theory. Now we accept it without any dispute, except in regard to its extension. At first it meant only elementary education; then it was extended in intermediate, such as the high school; then finally to college and university education, and now to industrial and professional training. Private education has not, however, been driven from the field; in the higher places it is holding its own and supplying a valuable addition to public education. It is coming to be recognized as the duty of the state to educate its citizens in any legitimate calling or profession as far as they care to go. In the immediate future we can look for a great extension of this function of the state, especially along the lines of industrial and technical training.

10. *Care of the Dependent and Defective Classes.*—The burden of the care of the unfortunate has been lifted from the shoulders of the individual and the church, altho neither is eliminated or discouraged from doing what each is able to do. Attention is being extended to the sick who are not able to care for themselves, and is now taking the form of protection against sickness by means of health insurance. It is being recognized more and more that it is the duty of the state to care for the aged or at least to see that they do not fall into want; not only to see that they do not actually suffer, but also that they enjoy comfort, especially if they have lived hard-working, industrious lives. It is also coming to be recognized as a function of the state to prevent poverty as possible by the regulation of industry and by insur-

ance against low wages and bad industrial conditions. The process of working out this function is changing from one of mere relief to one of prevention. The aim is not only to care for the dependent and defective classes, but to prevent the formation of such classes in the future.

11. *Regulation and Prohibition of Industries and Activities Considered as injurious to the Public.*—The regulation or prohibition of the liquor business, control of the sale of drugs, censorship of theatres, the forbidding the use of poisonous phosphorus in the manufacture of matches, licensing of pool halls, and the suppression of gambling, in short the curbing or preventing of anything considered detrimental to the public welfare—all this is now considered a duty of the state.

12. *The Right to Carry on Industry.*—Formerly state monopolies were allowed for revenue purposes but now it is coming to be recognized that as soon as the state can carry on a business or industry better than an individual can or does do so it is the right and duty of the state to take up this work. In this respect the world is becoming more socialistic. This theory did not meet with much favor in the United States until our entry into the great war. Since the war there has been a reaction against this policy, but the arguments for and against such a policy center upon whether the government is able to carry on the business in manner more satisfactory to the public than private individuals, rather than upon whether the government has the right to undertake industry or should go into business.

Evolution of the Forms of Government.—In the early days of human society there was very little government, for during the periods of the horde and matriarchy the condition of anarchy generally prevailed. Then when government did emerge, it took ordinarily the form of the rule of one or a few, that the rule of the strong arm. Later this took monarchical or oligarchical form. Law was generally the arbitrary will of these rulers. But as civilization advanced, the demand arose for a diffusion of the governmental authority and constitutional rights and privileges were gradually extended; then constitutions, like the English constitution, slowly grew. With such development constitutional monarchies, democracies, and republics emerged. We of course can set no time for any of these steps, for we find democracies existing early in the history of the world; in fact some very primitive tribes have

democratic forms of government. Many of these so-called early democracies, particularly the early Greek states, were not democracies as we consider a democracy today, for the right to enjoy political privileges was limited to a few. The present-day republic is simply the modern method of carrying out this demand of the people for a share in the government; yet many constitutional monarchies give as many and in fact often more rights than some republics. We cannot here go into a discussion of government, the forms it has taken, and an analysis of each; that study belongs to political science. Our treatment comprises only its development as a social institution and its social functions and does not include the study of the machinery of government, interesting as such a study is. The whole tendency has been towards the granting to the individuals in the state a greater share in the government as well as more equal rights and privileges. A still more modern tendency is towards the centralization of power in this government and the extension of the duties and functions of the state. In short the world is becoming not only more democratic but also more socialistic. Such a development was impossible till the mass of humanity reached a state of civilization where it was capable of receiving such duties and privileges. In this manner the state has developed as fast as society allowed it to develop; it has been the product of society, evolving as rapidly as society needed it.

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CHAPTER XIII

RELIGION AND ETHICS

Because of the sacredness attached to religion it is always a difficult subject to treat in a scientific manner. As soon as one attempts such a study, he is certain to be branded with the mark of atheist, agnostic, materialist, or heretic, no matter how lofty and conscientious may be his motive or how elevating and uplifting the result of the study. It sometimes seems that religion is one thing which the average person has settled as far as he is concerned; it seems that he cannot bear to have anyone else advocate a different theory or offer any other explanation or interpretation. Nearly everybody has his own interpretation of the Bible (which, however, in most cases was made up for him by somebody else) and he brands as wrong every other interpretation. The same attitude is held in regard to other religions; each person thinks he has a monopoly upon the truth. While we are slowly relinquishing this idea, it still prevails. There is also a great deal of difference of opinion in regard to the effects of religion upon society; some people give it credit for all social progress, while others are equally confident that religion has been a hinderance to progress; the advocate of each of these theories has no difficulty in furnishing abundance of evidence in support of his belief, one pointing to reforms in government, education, the family, and social life, and others pointing to the horrors of the Spanish inquisition, the torture of the Christians in the Roman arena, Druid worship in Briton, and the human sacrifices demanded in worship by the Aztecs, asserting furthermore, with a great deal of truth, that some of the greatest horrors in the history of man have been committed in the name of religion. The truth of the matter is that both are right; the effect of religious activity depends upon the time, place, and character of the religion under discussion. Religion cannot be overlooked as one of the most important forces in the development of civilization. Sociology makes no attempt to discuss theism or theological doctrines;

it considers the religious tendency of man as one of the innate human characteristics affecting his life; it studies the development of religion as an institution and notices its effect upon human progress. The influence which religion wields as an element of control we shall take up under the subject of "Social Control"; so we shall not consider that phase at any length here; neither shall we consider the psychology or philosophy of religion, leaving that to other sciences. Therefore the chief interest of sociology in religion is as a social institution and as an element of social control; the former we shall now take up.

Evolution of Religion. — There is a great deal of difference of opinion even as to what should be included under the name of religion, and as a result we have an endless number of definitions; in fact almost every writer on religion has a different definition and conception of the subject. For the purpose of the sociologist Menzies¹ gives perhaps the best definition of religion, calling it the "worship of higher powers from a sense of need", which implies the belief in some power or powers more potent than that of the individual. It includes a feeling of dependence and need, a feeling which finds expression in acts of worship. While religious sentiment takes many forms, it is found among all races and is admitted to be an innate trait of mankind.

Religion and civilization have advanced together, and in this respect religion resembles other social institutions. We must not expect to find a high religion among people living in savagery or barbarism, for they could not appreciate a lofty conception of religion; neither must we expect a religion belonging to a low period of civilization to continue after the people emerge from that condition, for they will not be satisfied with it and will demand a loftier conception. So religion, like other institutions, tends to reflect the stage of progress achieved by a people. However, the forces that influence the religion of a people may not be the same forces that produce their form of government or their industrial development; hence we may find a conception of religion in advance or behind the state of progress of other institutions. Geographical environment, like that of Palestine and its surrounding countries, might tend to stimulate religious ideas and yet hinder economic development. So we must not expect to find the same rate of development among all races. But we shall find that there has been a steady, if

¹Menzies, Allan, "*History of Religion*", p. 13.

not regular, evolution, the higher religion supplanting the lower. Besides the different religions themselves are constantly undergoing change, and while some religions degenerate, there is on the whole a constant tendency upward, religious conceptions steadily growing purer and loftier. In our treatment of the evolution of religion we must include all religions, whether degrading or elevating; we shall attempt also to show the constant progress that has been made.

It is extremely difficult to describe the earliest form of religion, or primitive religion in general, for the religion of the savage is seemingly a bewildering confusion of all manner of beliefs. It has been influenced by a vast number of forces and has all kinds of extraordinary growths; so it is very hard to reduce the evolution of religion to any definite order and in any such series many exceptions must be allowed and few dates or periods of time suggested. But in general the following seems to have been the approximate scheme of evolution:

1. *Nature Worship.* — Sometimes in discussions of primitive religion animal worship is separated from the worship of other objects of nature, such as rocks, mountains, the sun, the moon, stars, trees, waterfalls, etc.; but in this study all will be treated together, because the theories of worship were much the same, the periods of time concerned were identical, and the effects were quite similar. Awe inspired by nature was in all probability the original form of worship, if any form of worship can be so called. Primitive man lived in a world which he did not understand; he was surrounded by all manner of dangers, many of which he did not see or comprehend; so it is no wonder that he feared nature. Since he could not explain many of the objects of nature about him, it was only natural that he should look upon them as being animated like himself; and if he did so and conceived them as being more powerful than he, it was only natural that he should attempt to obtain their good will and to get them to aid him or at least not to injure him. So primitive man began to worship the objects of nature which impressed him most or that he feared most. If he lived in a country where the rays of the sun were welcome, it followed that he should worship the sun; for this reason the sun is probably the most common object of worship among nature worshippers. If he lived near a volcano or great water fall, primitive man would be impressed by it and worship it. The same would

be true of any high mountain, large river, huge tree, great rock, or any animals which were feared, such as the tiger, lion, alligator, or poisonous snake like the cobra, or any animal upon which man depended for food or raiment, as the cow, bear, or buffalo. If the rain brought prosperity, it might be worshipped. On the contrary the thunder, lightning, or tornado might be worshipped thru fear. The sea and fire have been common objects of worship. At a later time animals and other objects of nature were worshipped, because they were considered as homes of spirits, especially the spirits of ancestors; but this was not, however, the original type of nature worship but a later development of it.

2. *Spirit and Ancestor Worship; Spencer's "Ghost Theory".*

— Primitive man could not realize the full meaning of death and could not think of the person who died as leaving this world entirely. He thought that the spirit must be simply leaving the body or going upon a journey, and therefore apt to return. Dreams would help to increase this belief in spirits; in fact Spencer declared that belief in spirits came about in this way. This conception of death, supplemented by dreams, led primitive man to believe that the spirit was able to leave the body and to dwell at a distance from it, or upon death to come back and perhaps enter into some object of nature, as a tree, or animal, or to return to his old hut. His shadow, his reflection in water, and the echo of his voice went still further to prove to the savage the truth of such a belief in spirits. Sometimes the savage would look upon this spirit as a friend and sometimes as an enemy, depending largely upon whether the person was liked or feared in life. Efforts were made to appease the ill will or gain the good will of a spirit by means of prayers, offerings, praises, and even flattery. Also attempts were made to ward off its bad effects or to protect one's self against it by means of signs and charms, and even by such methods as striking a spear in the ground when lying down to sleep. While many of these customs and actions seem strange to us, the theory is logical enough. The belief in spirits seems to have been almost universal, at least the belief that the spirit lived after the body was gone; and this notion furnished the basis for higher conceptions of religion. Of course this belief in the immortality of the spirit did not always take the form of ancestor worship, although in many places it did. Such customs as burying weapons, food, clothing, and articles of every day use with the body

and the killing of slaves or wives, in order to serve the departed in the next world, are merely customs derived from the belief in a future life. Herbert Spencer, imagining that religion originated from this belief worked out his famous "ghost theory" of the origin of religion. He suggested that a savage, because of overeating, or for some such cause, might have a dream, perhaps of going on some hunting expedition, and yet be told next morning by his wife or by someone else that he had not stirred from his hut, but had tossed about all night; that he might see his reflection in the pool of water; that he might go into some canyon and shout and hear his voice come echoing back from its walls; and that in this way he would come to the natural conclusion that he had a double, which could leave him at will, especially when he slept. Sleep-walking, delirium and swooning would only go still further to confirm in the mind of the savage such a belief. From this belief in a double personality came ancestor worship — based on a feeling that the spirits of ancestors hovered about — and the idea of transmigration of souls — that the spirit of the dead person entered some animal or object of worship. An animal with a scar which had a resemblance to a scar carried by a man before his death was of course recognized as the possessor of the soul of the dead man. Animal and nature worship originated in this way, according to Spencer, as a development of ancestor worship. In fact Spencer attempted to show that all religions originated in this fashion. The theory was of course built upon too narrow a foundation, for while possibly some religions began in this manner, it is preposterous to assert that all religions evolved from this idea. Ancestor worship still survives in many countries, most noticeably in China, simply because the people have not emerged as yet from this stage. In some countries it preceded nature worship, at least in certain forms, but as a rule ancestor worship came later, being an outgrowth of nature worship. It in turn gave way to higher forms, although many of the nobler phases of spirit worship survived and were carried over by the higher religions in many instances. Like nature worship spirit and ancestor worship was accompanied by many strange customs and was much interwoven with superstition and magic.

3. *Fetish Worship.* — In fetish worship an object is idolized, not because the object itself is that to be a divinity, but because it is supposed to be the residence of a spirit or

god. In this way any striking object of nature or any unusual object might be worshipped; it might be carried around as a kind of good luck piece. This might be called a combination of the preceding two; it is an outgrowth of them. Many of the so-called idols have been merely fetishes.

4. *Worship of a Supreme Being.*—While usually a late development the worship of a supreme, all-powerful being was sometimes used by primitive man. This at first took the form of polytheism, or the worship of several gods, but it gradually changed to monotheism by means of weeding out the minor or less important gods. Sometimes this supreme being was merely a mountain, a tree, or the sun, but it stood out as supreme over other deities; gradually this belief became loftier and purer, the worship of the lesser divinities being abandoned. This gave the foundation for the highest example of religion which we have today.

Each of these beliefs lays claims to being the original form of religion, and with the exception of fetishism, which was clearly the outgrowth of other forms, each undoubtedly was in some places the original. But on the whole we must regard nature worship as the beginning of the evolution of religion, as it is the form generally found among the most primitive people; so we treat it as the starting point in our development of religion, altho we must make some allowance for belief in a life after death.

Characteristics of Primitive Religion.—*Sacrifices.*—When the savage looked upon god as a person; he naturally thought that the god needed food and other necessities of life; so he offered them to him. Sometimes these sacrifices were destroyed entirely; in fact among some tribes a family may become impoverished by the destruction of property caused by making sacrifices occasioned by a death; at other times the sacrifices were not destroyed but used again by the people. Food used as an offering seldom was wasted. In countries where cannibalism was or had been practiced these sacrifices might take the form of human beings, generally slaves, altho women and children were often used. Hindu mothers even today frequently throw their babies into the Ganges as offerings. The early Greeks before starting upon a great expedition would sacrifice a beautiful girl, and the Spartans allowed their children to be flogged to death before the temple of Diana. The sacrifice of animals succeeded human sacrifice, and has always been the most general offering. In this way,

especially among the Jews, sacrifices took the nature of a sign of atonement for sins or as a means of warding off punishment.

Prayer.—Prayer is the normal method of appealing to the god and is one of the natural accompaniments of religion, particularly of fetish worship. Prayer is the logical attendant of sacrifices; in fact it is the method of telling what is the object of making the sacrifice; it states the request that is made of the god. While to some extent present in most religions, its importance increases with the rise of the religion.

Sacredness.—Because of the religious association objects connected with worship attain an air of sacredness, especially the fetishes, temples and places of worship; any object or ceremony or service connected with the carrying out of religion becomes invested with sacredness. This still continues, and at times has increased with progress of religion.

Magic.—Vitality related to and infinitely confused with early religion was magic. Professor Thomas takes the view that magic with the savage is of higher importance than religion, because it assumes a scientific attitude in that it is the attempt to explain things and thus becomes the forerunner of modern science. In nearly every tribe there was some person or persons similar to the medicine men of the American Indians, whose function was to interpret signs, foretell the future, exercise power over the spirits, either in warding off calamity or in bringing things desired, cure the sick, and do those things which were beyond the power of the average man. In carrying out all these duties this person—the witch doctor—resorted to magic; in this way magic along with superstition, played quite an important part in primitive religion. But as the religion became elevated, it gradually purged itself of these hindrances, altho most religions are not yet entirely clear of them.

Importance of Primitive Religion.—Formerly religion was of greater social importance than it is today; it was not necessarily more vital to civilization, but it took up more of the life of the savage. With him religion entered into every act of life. The gods had to be consulted before any important event took place, even after the state of savagery was passed; the Romans would never undertake any war or military expedition or engage in any battle unless the signs were favorable. The king or chief was also high priest at first, and,

as we noticed in the last chapter, church and state were one; it was not until very recent times that they became separated. Religion was a tribal affair, and every member of the tribe not only adopted the religion of the tribe, but took his or her part in the services or ceremonies. Religious dances formed an important element in religion in the same manner that the dance formerly played an important part in all phases of the life of the savage. Religious feasts were often held in times of harvest, and all religious functions were of great significance.

The moral effect of religion was chiefly in the way of producing tribal solidarity, in holding back the tendencies to excess. It would tolerate those things which were of help to the tribe and forbid those things which were injurious. It developed tribal loyalty, obedience to the chief, observance of tribal customs and submergence of individual interests to tribal interests. In practice it acted as a strong conservative force, checking and discouraging individual initiative and independence. In this way it was a hindrance to reform and gave little chance for original thinking; in fact it discouraged it. This unfortunately is a tendency which all religions have too strictly fostered: it is one which we are even to this day struggling to overcome. While primitive religion held the individual in a safe and sane way, it often was an impediment to progress.

Before we can get a really good picture of the evolution of religion we must consider the development of national religions and take up a study of the leading religions of today, not so much from a theological standpoint as from that of growth and influence.

The Growth of National Religion From Tribal Religion. — As one god became more important, its worship spread, and because of some superior appeal to the people it came into greater popularity. Altho each tribe tended to keep its own objects of worship, unless it was conquered by some other tribes, the gods of the stronger and more important tribes began to supplant the gods of the weaker peoples because of the greater confidence reposed in them. At first the religion which appealed to the primitive mind tended to survive, but as man began to mount higher and higher in the scale of civilization, the religions which had higher conceptions of divinity and were loftier in their teachings survived and grew at the expense of the lower and

inferior religions. Also the religions which were detrimental to the group, such as those permitting or demanding human sacrifices, thus either killing off their own population directly, or indirectly by fighting for captives to offer as sacrifices, were weeded out. The tribes which had such religions lost out in the struggle for existence, and of course their religions crumbled with them. On the other hand religions which stood for customs and habits which were advantageous to the group, for instance those advocating monogamy, and good treatment of women and opposing infanticide and slavery, increased in strength, because their groups increased in numbers and power. In this way the higher religions supplanted the lower. Then as tribes became more powerful, they compelled other tribes to adopt their gods, either by force of arms or by example. The weaker tribes were generally willing to do so, because they wanted the favor of what they considered to be powerful gods. In this way national religion supplanted tribal religion; it was simply the enlarging of the scope and territory of the beliefs which were superior. Then, too, by coming into contact with other religions even these superior religions improved, adopting in many cases the strong features of other religions. Hence as the scope and power of religions increased, the religions themselves became more elevated.

The Religions of Early Babylon and Egypt. — Of the three seats of early culture, Chaldea (or Early Babylon), Egypt, and China, Chaldea was in all probability not only the earliest but the center of the other two. Other peoples, especially the Hebrews, derived their inspiration to a great extent from Early Babylon, the Laws of Moses being traced back in many particulars to the Code of Hammurabi, which antedated the laws of Moses by many centuries. The people of Early Babylon were cosmopolitan; in fact, Hammurabi, the first great king, ruled a collection of many peoples, who spoke many tongues. As a consequence their religion was not a pure religion but a mixture of many beliefs. There was a belief in spirits; the world was thot to be full of such spirits, which could only be controlled by means of charms and magic. These spirits were supposed to be responsible for all pain and disease as well as misfortune; thus the cruelty and superstition of the Babylonians are partially accounted for. Nature worship was also interwoven into the spirit worship. There was a vast number of gods, both great and minor,

the worship of one predominating in one city, and that of another in another city; hence there was no common system. The most of these were represented by animal emblems. The religion was too complicated to develop into a real state religion. While the higher religion of Babylon took the form of worship of a human overlord, who controlled the destinies of man, it never fully drove out the old belief in spirits and never stopped the making of sacrifices to them. Altho it was a confusion of beliefs, with many cults, and never came near to monotheism, the religion of Babylon was an advance from the previous timid trafficking with spirits thru fear, toward the service of gods which were looked upon as friends of man. When Babylon was absorbed into the Persian Empire, it lost its religion, which was not sufficiently developed to survive.

Egypt is a country which has always been surrounded by an air of veneration and mystery, even before the Hebrews went to live there, for the Shepherd Kings, who reigned there at that time, found an old civilization. Part of this civilization consisted of a religion which was elaborately worked out—a religion which was a combination of many faiths and the product of many forces, for Egypt had been conquered many times and each conquest had made its impression upon the religion by leaving some new feature. Thus the earliest religion which we can find in Egypt was the resultant of many still earlier religions. It contained remnants of animal worship, as illustrated by the enormous temples which were erected to sacred animals, particularly the ibis, cow, and cat, and by the fact that those animals were sacred in the provinces in which they were worshipped. Alongside of this was the worship of higher gods, such as the sun, moon, and sky. Chiefs among these gods was Ra, meaning "sun", who was supposed to be a kindly old king and warrior, who guided the soul thru the underworld, of which he was also lord, and concerning whom there was a great deal of mythology. There was a family of gods similar to the Greek family of gods, consisting of Osiris, the sun god of Abydos, his wife and sister, Isis, and brother, Set. While Osiris was the embodiment of light and purity, Set was supposed to represent the opposite; he was the embodiment of all evil, particularly the desert, darkness, the hot south wind, sickness, and what seems strange to us, red hair. Between Osiris and Set there was constant hostility, and we have the story of the death of Osiris, the

search for the body by Iris, and the avenging of the death by the son, Horus. While by no means monotheistic Egyptian religion approached monotheism thru the survival of the stronger gods and the predominance of one god in each city or province. Each place had its own favorite god and attempted to make that god supreme, but there was no unity of belief in any particular one, altho all the gods seemed to become that of as sun gods; therefore Egyptian religion tended to become different forms of sun worship.

Egyptian temples were residences of the gods, rather than places of worship, images being placed in the temples so that the gods might enter them. The worship of the gods was celebrated by great festivals and parades, worship being a public rather than a private function. The kings were supposed to have descended from the gods, and it was one of their chief cares to erect stately dwellings for the deities.

Egyptian religion included a belief in future existence. This conviction motivated the care of the dead by means of embalming the body and inspired the prevailing idea of the duty of marrying in order to bring into the world children who would pay the necessary attention to the body after death. The pyramids were erected as tombs for the kings. The belief was that the soul accompanied the sun god to the underworld, where its lot depended upon how its possessor had lived or had treated the god during life. While Egyptian religion was an advance over what had preceded it, showed possibilities of becoming a pure spiritual faith, and embodied in it many ideas of correct living and of duty to neighbors, it became degenerate and corrupt with the decay of Egyptian civilization and the crumbling of that nation as a political state. Reliance upon magic increased, pantheistic beliefs grew in importance, and the priesthood became corrupt, despotic and oppressive. While it undoubtedly contributed somewhat to subsequent religions, its share was nothing in comparison with that of other nations, particularly the Jews.

Both the Babylonian and Egyptian cults show how religions develop thru the coming together of many religions, in the attempt to obtain a centralized worship the religion thrives, grows purer, flourishes, and later declines and in turn gives way to a loftier religion. The Babylonian and Egyptian religions were too cold and formal to become great religions, altho they had some influence upon the development of other religious beliefs.

The Religion of Ancient Greece and Rome. — The religion of Greece passed thru the same stages as other religions; however, because of the high state of culture, the rapid growth of civilization, and the favorable location, which stimulated the imagination and the philosophical and religious development, it developed much more rapidly than the religions of other countries. The early history of Greece is so much interwoven with mythology and intermingles to such an extent the acts of men and of gods that it is very difficult to separate fact from fiction. While nature and spirit worship at one time existed in Greece, they were early abandoned. The gods were functional gods and had distinctly human attributes; not only were they that of as having human bodies, but there were idealized as the perfection of the human form. They had not only human bodies but even human passions; they hated, loved, were jealous, and even stole like human beings, only they were endowed with superhuman powers. The Greek gods formed a family, Zeus being the father and Hera the mother. The number of the gods and goddesses increased without limit; the Athenians after establishing a vast number of temples and shrines erected one to the "unknown god" for fear that they had omitted one. Each city had its patron god or goddess; also each divinity represented a particular function. With Greek religion went a belief in a future world inhabited by spirits who received rewards or punishments, particularly the latter. Perhaps the greatest effect of Greek religion was the inspiration it gave to art, especially sculpture and poetry. Thru the religious festivals and games it was an incentive to physical development. While the gods were supposed to be guardians of justice, righting wrongs and meting out punishments in both this and the future world, and in this way to hold men in restraint thru fear of punishment, the moral effect was almost of indifferent values for the gods represented the prevailing standards of morals. The gods were not distinctly good or bad; they even quarreled among themselves; but they were called upon in time of need and danger. The Greek religion did not hold out a goal to be attained, such as the Nirvana of Buddhism or the Heaven of Christianity. It did, however prepare the way for Christianity, which easily supplanted the Greek religion when the early Christian apostles preached the new faith.

Rome offers perhaps the best example of the survival of

the fittest in regard to religion. Early Roman religion was anamistic, there being no real gods but a host of spirits, which dwelt in nature. These nature spirits were worshipped or appealed to not from a feeling of love but in a sense of bargaining or contract, sacrifices and worship being given in exchange for protection and help. There was the worship of the Lares, or household gods, who were the spirits of the ancestors, to whom prayers and offerings were made, because they were supposed to give or withhold prosperity. This led to the introduction of the worship of deified persons, like Romulus and later Julius Cæsar, which worship was added to the previous religion. Roman religion became a part of the state, no war or enterprise being undertaken without consulting the gods and then not carried out unless the omens were favorable. The religion was so complicated that it required a priestly class to interpret the will of the gods or the wishes of the spirits, a thing which they did by consulting the entrails of animals offered as sacrifices and by interpreting the flights of birds. Instead of suppressing or ridiculing the beliefs of the peoples whom they conquered the Romans respected them, looking upon their gods as real beings with whom they themselves wished to be on good terms and taking the attitude of toleration, instead of contempt or a desire for suppression which most conquering nations up to this time had exhibited. When Greece was reached and later conquered, the Romans took over almost entirely the Greek worship, especially their conception of the gods, only giving the Greek gods and goddesses Latin names, and carried out their worship to such an extent that many people think of the Roman religion merely as an outgrowth of Greek religion. This principle of toleration was abandoned after Christianity invaded Italy and bid fair to supplant the former worship by gaining tremendous popularity, noticeably with the lower classes, especially the slaves. Then the government attempted to stamp out Christianity by persecution, but in so doing only spread it and hastened its final adoption by the entire population. Thus thru competition the best elements of the different religions survived until finally Christianity won the supremacy over all competitors and became the dominant religion. Increasing in force after the fall of Rome as a world power, it became incorporated into the state and ruled Europe for a long time politically, socially, morally, and religiously

in the form of the Catholic Church, which later split into the Roman and Greek Catholic Churches.

The Great World Religions of Today. — This constant evolution of religion is to be observed among the religions of today as well as among those of antiquity, for there is the same progress. The religions which serve and aid mankind the most are the ones which are increasing and which are supplanting those that do not fulfill such functions. While there are many religions in the world, five stand out above all others, not only in the number of adherents but in their social influence. So in order to carry out completely this study of the evolution of religion we must take a brief glance at the essential features of Confucianism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity, taking them up according to their rank in social importance and development, altho this does not accord completely with the chronological order of their origin.

1. *Confucianism.* — This, the most influential of the three religions of China — Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism — is typical of Chinese civilization, which has been looking backward for centuries. While named after Confucius, a Chinese sage and philosopher who is supposed to have lived from 550 to 478 B. C., it antedated him by many centuries, for Confucius was chiefly a collector and preserver of the wisdom of the past, altho he did add somewhat to it. He collected this knowledge and handed it down in written form, of which there are now preserved five or six books. To those books is added a second set of classics edited by disciples of Confucius, especially Mencius, which are supposed to contain teachings of Confucius. The worship of Confucius himself is the chief addition to the worship of the time prior to him. Confucianism in reality is not much of a religion according to our conception of religion, being more a system of philosophy. There is nothing cruel or revolting or degrading in the worship, no mythology, no idols, no priestly class, and no bible even. Everything is dignified and well arranged. It is essentially a religion of form, in which doctrine counts for very little and in which action is not governed by any code of ethics. The main thing is to do the proper thing at the proper time in the proper way.

The objects of worship are of three classes: (a) *heaven*, the principal Chinese deity, by which is meant the sky — the blue air — which is conceived of as living and worshipped for

itself and not as the residence of a power behind it; (b) the *spirits*, all good, generally spoken of in the plural sense, there being one for each object of nature, conceived of not as flitting around, but as being organized into a priesthood, and worshipped in a body; (c) *ancestors*, the worship of whom is the prescribed working religion of each individual. Belief in the future world is centered in the idea of the continuation of the family; it is thought to be the duty of everybody to marry and rear descendants in order to carry on this worship. Tablets are placed in the home to the memory of these ancestors; to these tablets the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to come when properly invoked. The emperor must sacrifice to all the emperors who have preceded him, and magistrates to all who have held the office before them. This homage is given, not for the sake of peace or aid, but because of gratitude and devotion. The person offering sacrifices prays to be worthy of offering them. There is no self humiliation, for the Chinaman takes his religion complacently. Under Confucianism religion is not separated from daily life; it is a ritual fixed by tradition and carried out by custom and habit. As taught by Confucius religion becomes a theory of government and morals. In the way of social influence Confucianism is largely responsible for the complacency of the Chinese; it supplies one of the reasons for the backwardness of China. Closely akin to Confucianism is Taoism, a cult founded by Lao-tsze, which in its early days consisted of a higher code of morals and self-discipline than Confucianism. It degenerated, however, into magic and, while it later borrowed the apparatus of religion from Buddhism and became recognized, it has never obtained a vital hold upon the people. Confucianism never grappled with the social problems of the day or attempted to reform things; it has merely tried to hold them as they were. Its effect has been to keep its adherents from advancing. Unlike many religions it has not degenerated or become corrupt, but has remained much the same as it was two thousand years ago — it has neither advanced nor degenerated.

2. *Brahmanism*. — This religion is the direct outgrowth of the anterior Vedic religion, which was brot into India by her conquerors. The Vedic religion was an advance over the previous faith of Babylon, but was a combination of spirit and nature worship; went further in its approach to monotheism by making one god at a time supreme, each one in

turn becoming dominants; all the gods were supposed to represent various manifestations of one supreme being. It had risen beyond worship of idols or fetishes, thus producing higher conceptions than had formerly prevailed. Based upon this Vedic faith came Brahmanism, which cast aside the old ideas of nature worship in favor of an inward subjective religious attitude. New gods were introduced, chief of whom is Brahma, who is also the head of a trinity consisting of Brahma, the creator, Vishnu, the preserver, and Siva, the destroyer. The conception of Brahma is not unlike our idea of Jehovah; he is not only an external deity, but is also present in one's own experience. But while Christianity teaches that we serve God by serving our fellow-men, Brahmanism teaches that this is done by getting away from mankind, by isolation and separation of self from the sin of the world. There is no distinction between good and bad works, for to be holy one must keep clear from all that degrades or confuses. Salvation is a matter of individual concern, there being no desire to spread the light or to save others. Religion is gained thru isolation; to be holy one must be alone. Connected with Brahmanism are sacred books, including the sacred Vedic literature, supposedly inspired writings, hymns, treatises and law books; there are also the famous laws of Manu, compiled about A. D. 2000, a collection of rules designed to govern the entire Hindu population. There is also required of the Brahmans, a complicated system of sacrifices, which have become a matter of form. The social effects have been great, but since only the individual is concerned, a hindrance to group morality. Brahmanism has not attempted to relieve the suffering of the people or lay hold of the problems of society. It has allowed the people of India to live in poverty and misery; it has made no attempt to break down the caste system, but on the contrary has upheld it, because the priestly class are on top of the social pyramid. Neither has it attempted to elevate the position of woman; it has held her down. These failures have been its great weakness, because a religion to be successful must aid humanity; Brahmanism has not done it. Its key-note is isolation and self-salvation. It has, however, paved the way for Buddhism, which was an outgrowth of it and which is the culmination of Indian religion.

3. *Buddhism*.—Altho it originated in India, Buddhism was banished from that country and is now extinct there;

it is found in China, Japan, Tibet, Java, Sumatra, Siam, Burmah, and Ceylon and is divided into northern and southern branches. While considered a revolt from Brahmanism, it is simply the outgrowth of Brahmanism into a higher form.

Buddhism is a religion without a god, without prayer, without a priesthood, without worship. It is a religion which owes its success not to its theology or to its ritual, for it has neither, but to its moral sentiment and to its external organization. The term Buddha means the Enlightened One or the Enlightener; there were supposed to have been twenty-four of these Enlightened Ones before Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, appeared. They were human but were supposed to have reached a superhuman condition by passing thru periods of renunciation and of compassion for man's suffering and to have entered human life and borne the burden of man's suffering. It is not negative like Brahmanism, but positive and constructive. One achieves happiness thru a life of right living; thus the religion has an extremely high code of morals and ethics. It offers Nirvana, a place of salvation, the Heaven of Buddhism; Nirvana, a place of liberation and freedom, which one can reach even before death. The way of reaching it is by a life of self-renunciation and by suppression of the desires and passions. Under Buddhist morality, which includes equality towards all and respect for all living beings, are five rules of righteousness, which resemble the ten commandments; they are binding on all followers of Buddha. These are: (1) not to kill any living being; (2) not to take that which is not given; (3) to refrain from adultery; (4) to speak no untruth, and (5) to abstain from all intoxicating liquors. To members of the order are added the following: (1) not to eat after mid-day; (2) not to be present at dancing, singing, the playing of music, or acting; (3) not to use wreaths, ointments, scents, or personal ornaments; (4) not to use a high or a broad bed, and (5) to possess no silver or gold.

Because there is no god, prayers, sacrifices, and priests are unnecessary. Man must save himself by his own efforts. While under Buddhism there are no priests, there are wanderers who leave home and travel about, teaching and practicing the religion; in this manner they resemble the monks and friars of the Catholic Church.

Buddhism became marvelously popular because of its simplicity, morality and broad humanity. But because of its

openness and freedom it has degenerated, becoming contaminated with magic and superstition in every land that it has gone, for the simple reason that it was too lofty to be appreciated and therefore was not suitable as a working religion to the people with whom it dealt. While a lofty religion, Buddhism even at its best is a sad religion, offering little joy. While having deep compassion for the sufferings of man, it has taken no means of reforming the world, concerning itself only with winning individual adherents; so it has had little social effect, altho it has not been reactionary in the way Brahmanism has been. On the whole it is an exceedingly free religion, allowing its followers to worship as they see fit or not to worship at all. In loftiness it is probably next to Christianity, with which it is competing for supremacy in the East.

4. *Mohammedanism.*—In point of time this is the last of the great religions, appearing six centuries after Christianity, and because of its recency it has incorporated many of the Christian ideals; but it borrowed still more from Judaism, which it closely resembles. It was founded in Arabia by Mohammed or Mahomet, who was born about A. D. 570. Arabia is a desert country and is inhabited by wandering tribes, who are held together by ties of kinship. At the time of Mohammed Arabia had no settled religion, but there was a confusion of nature and spirit worship, each tribe having its own worship. The people generally did not believe in the large collection of gods, especially the minor ones; so the country was ready for a new religion. Both Judaism and Christianity were known and respected in Arabia but were not adopted to any extent because of the exclusiveness of the Hebrews and the widespread dislike for them, they being unpopular because of their pride, exclusiveness, and success as money lenders. Mohammed had traveled much and thus had come into contact with both of these religions; also while herding sheep he had had opportunity for meditation and study. When he first started out to teach, he was rejected and ridiculed at Mecca, but he was later accepted and even welcomed at Medina, a more cosmopolitan place. When he found he could not spread the faith much thru persuasion, he adopted force and compelled all Arabia to adopt Mohammedanism, giving them the choice of accepting Mohammedanism or the sword; most of them chose the religion. He also showed great diplomacy and executive ability

in welding these tribes together and adopting enough of their old faiths, especially pilgrimages and ceremonies, to win their allegiance. After conquering Mecca he spared the city and made it his capital. Before his death he started out upon the conquest of the world but died before it was well under way, leaving his plans to his followers, who carried them out as far as they were able, sweeping over all of Asia Minor and Northern Africa and entering Europe by way of Spain and the Balkans. They were barely stopped from a conquest of all Europe at the Battle of Tours, A. D. 732.

Mohammedanism includes a belief in one god, known as Allah, and in angels, good and bad spirits, prophecy, revelation, and a resurrection and judgment day, as well as a heaven and a hell. Allah is conceived of as an all powerful and just ruler. Mohammed represented himself as a prophet of Allah. "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet" was the slogan. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus were also recognized as prophets. Hell is represented as a place of torment and Heaven as a place of sensual pleasure. In addition to faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimages are duties of the Moslem. Every Moslem must pray five times a day and must, at least once during his lifetime, make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Drinking and gambling are prohibited. To wage holy war is an obligation. The Koran, which closely resembles the Old Testament, is the Mohammed Bible. In reality Mohammedanism has many points of similarity to Judaism, only it is adapted so as to become a world religion. Mohammedanism, because of the adaptability of the faith, the readiness of the people for it, and the ability of its founder, had a growth which was marvelous in its rapidity. It is spreading swiftly today in Asia and Africa, being the great rival of Christianity in Africa and western Asia; and in many places it is more successful than Christianity, because it is more easily understood by the inhabitants of these countries. While a very advanced religion, it lacks the high morality of Buddhism and the warmth and love of Christianity; it is, however, a wonderful advance over the previous religions of the people who now embrace it and must be counted as one of the great world religions, both as to numbers and in loftiness of thought.

5. *Christianity*. — Any treatment of Christianity should be prefaced by one of Judaism, of which it is an outgrowth, but because of lack of space and general familiarity with the

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principles of Judaism — or at least assumed 'familiarity,' for no person can lay any claim to be educated who is not acquainted with the teachings of the Old Testament — prevents it here. At the time of the coming of Christ Judaism had become hardened into mere formality and needed rejuvenation; Christianity fulfilled that need by replacing the religion of form by one of love.

Christianity is not a religion of fear — altho many have tried to make it such — but one of inspiration, one which leads instead of driving. It is not a religion of definite rules but one of freedom and inner guidance, rather than of external law or system. When Christianity appeared, the world was in need of a higher religion, hence its rapid rise and prosperity. It later became hardened into too definite a system under the Roman and Greek Catholic churches, and still later under many of the Protestant sects, perhaps most noticeably the Puritans and the Church of England; but in all divisions it is constantly throwing off the control of individuals and the opinions of a few and allowing greater and greater individual freedom, especially in the Protestant denominations. There is less quarreling over matters of opinion and greater eagerness to go on to higher conception of religion and wider fields of usefulness. Because Christianity is essentially a religion of freedom, hope, and love it is best adapted to become a universal religion. While it is without doubt our loftiest religion and at present our greatest achievement in the evolution of religion, it has not as yet reached its height or its greatest usefulness, but is constantly advancing as fast as humanity is able to appreciate it.¹

Evolution of Ethics. — Ethics, or the study of morals, is a separate science in itself and has its subdivisions, like sociology; theoretical ethics deals with the theory of morals and practical ethics like human conduct. Sociology is closely connected with ethics, especially with what is called social ethics; but it especially with moral codes that sociology is

¹The latest estimates as to the probable number of adherents to these great religions is as follows, altho these estimates are of course open to criticism:

Confucianists	100,000,000	
Brahmanists	175,000,000	
Buddhists	150,000,000	
Mohammedans	200,000,000	
Christians	500,000,000	
Roman Catholics		250,000,000
Protestants		150,000,000
Greek Catholics		100,000,000
Judaists	8,000,000	

interested; their influence in controlling society and their origin and development. We take these codes for granted; but they were always so taken, and even now they differ with the time, place, and condition. We have codes of conduct in regard to the handling of property, those forbidding stealing, for illustration, but our interpretation of just what is stealing or immoral use of property is constantly changing. We have codes in regard to telling the truth, but the Chinese and African have different codes. Codes of family morality have been and are still evolving. Religious codes differ with the religion and the time. Under Puritanism all labor and recreation were forbidden on the Sabbath, but we are making different codes in regard to the Sabbath observance. We have codes in regard to injury to others, assault being forbidden, etc. We have codes in regard to wearing clothing, but the amount and nature differ with the time and place. We cannot here take up a study of these different codes. We merely mention them as part of our social evolution. These codes have not all evolved in the same way, being affected by geographical environment and other conditions in a manner similar to other social institutions. Religion has been one of the greatest factors in their development; economic and industrial progress has also conditioned their growth. We could neither develop codes in regard to property until there was property, nor frame them concerning industrial organization till we had that organization. Some point out the steps by which moral codes evolve, stating that at first they were the products of instinct, the idea of justice being an innate tendency, etc.; that then they were the results of attention, of conscious direction, and control; and then lastly that they became habits and were carried out unconsciously. When we take up our study of groups we shall find that the group has always tried to condemn those things which were disadvantageous to the group and to approve those actions which were advantageous; in this way group morality developed. In fact most moral codes have developed as group codes. Moral codes are never settled, for new conditions are constantly creating new problems to be solved. Take the question of justice; every new invention upsets to some extent the code of justice which we had, and we must adapt our code to the new condition. In short, moral codes are the product of society and are conditioned by social progress. They also help mould society and aid or retard further progress. While

much of morality is due to some extent of innate tendency, the vast bulk of it is determined by the conditions of society, and like other social institutions, is the product of society.

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CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATION

In this chapter education will be treated as an institution of society, and an attempt will be made to outline in a general way the evolution of education. While a broad view of the subject will be taken, particular attention will be given to school systems as representing in concrete fashion the different forms of education.

Primitive Education. — Education in its simplest form is seen among primitive peoples. There is no school, and education is largely a matter of imitation, being to a great extent unconscious. The purpose is, however, much the same as that recognized in our most highly developed school systems — namely, fitting the youth for life. With primitive man as with modern man knowledge is essential to the maintaining of life. Primitive man must understand nature in order to keep alive, and the primitive child needs training in the art of obtaining food, clothing, and, if the climate is unfavorable, shelter. He must know how to avoid the wild animals and how to hunt or fish. In order to progress each generation must profit by the experience of the preceding ones.

While the bulk of primitive instruction comes thru observation and imitation, there are various methods of supplying definite training and instruction to the youth. One of the best known of these is the initiation ceremony. Among most primitive peoples every boy before entering upon the duties and dignity of manhood is obliged to go thru an initiation ceremony. In many tribes girls are compelled to perform similar rites before they are recognized as women. This initiation generally comes during the period of puberty and lasts several days and sometimes for weeks and months. Often the novice is obliged to go thru ceremonies that are symbolic or religious. During these ceremonies the youth is taught the legends and history of the tribe and the significance of the various celebrations, songs, dances, and rites. Instruction is given in religion, also in tribal and family duties. The

importance of the occasion, as well as that of the instruction, is impressed upon the mind of the youth by the seriousness of the instructors and the ceremony and dignity attached to the rites. The life of primitive man is as a rule hard, one in which he is obliged to endure hunger, cold, and pain; to fit himself for this life the youth is usually compelled to pass rigid examinations. He is generally forced to endure pain without flinching; he endures such tests as having teeth knocked out, smoking or burning over a fire, and flogging. Frequently the boy carries to the grave the scars made during his initiation ceremony. He is often required to fast for a time or to procure his own food without assistance; or he may be compelled to abstain from certain foods. So severe are these initiations that among some tribes it is not at all uncommon for youths to die under them. The rites for girls are ordinarily not so severe, nor are they carried out with so great care because of the lesser importance of females in the eyes of society.

By means of these initiations young men are taught obedience and respect for their elders. Also much practical instruction is given in methods of capturing certain animals, in the art of making fire, of the importance of marriage, and concerning the duty of supplying the family. However, much superstition and magic are also taught, such as belief in spirits, animal worship, etc. Because of this, primitive education has had little progressive value other than the adjustment to one's environment. It did have value in teaching group solidarity; in this way it contributed its part to the preservation of man and the continuance of races. As society advanced and the needs of man changed, it gave way to other methods of instruction.

Oriental Education. — *Chinese Education.* — The second stage in educational development has been preserved almost to the present day by many of the Oriental nations, but particularly by China, which continued its ancient system down to the beginning of the twentieth century. With the Chinese formal education consisted in the mastery of language and literature. The Chinese language is ideographic and not phonetic, and as a result there is a different character for each idea. While the bulk of their educational material contains only about 5,000 different characters, it has been estimated that exclusive of synonyms and obsolete words there are 25,000 characters, and including all forms the number

is carried to about 260,000. These characters have to be learned by memory. Chinese education consisted in (1) the mastery of these language forms; (2) committing to memory the sacred texts, and (3) the study of commentaries on these texts, for the purpose of acquiring the sacred literary style. In the carrying out of this scheme of education there was a system of schools which led up to and prepared for a schedule of governmental examinations. Each village or community had its elementary school, taught by some unsuccessful candidate for the degrees or by the holder of a lower degree who was without an office. Here by a system of imitation and memorizing the student learned to read and write the different characters, altho little connection was made between the two processes, the child often not knowing the meaning of either. On account of the poverty of the people few ever attended these schools, and of those who did attend only about one in twenty ever managed to pass beyond the elementary grade. Above the elementary schools the higher education consisted of the memorizing of the nine sacred classics and their commentaries. For those who failed in the examinations or were not successful in obtaining appointment to offices—and most of them did fail—education instead of preparing for life unfitted them for entering an ordinary occupation, for to do so would have brought about the loss of prestige. Many resorted to teaching, thus overcrowding that occupation.

The center of the Chinese educational system was the series of three governmental examinations for degrees and office. These examinations consisted of the writing of verse and prose essays on themes taken from the sacred writings. From those who passed the lower examinations the minor governmental officials were chosen, and from those who passed the higher examinations the chief officials of the empire were selected. Also from those who passed the third examination a few were selected by a further private examination before the emperor to form his cabinet. The educational system was the royal road to preferment and advance. Each degree brot its own reward, as well as the opening up of an opportunity to advance still higher. Because of this fact many spent their entire lives in the endeavor to pass these examinations. The whole educational system conduced to this end.

The Chinese method was memory and imitation. No attempt was made to develop originality or creative power;

these were suppressed. Now, however, this whole system is rapidly being replaced by western methods. While it preserved the past, it stifled progress and was largely responsible for holding China back from advancement.

Hindu Education. — Quite similar to the education of China was that of India. There education was based upon the sacred Vedic literature and training in the laws and traditions. A great deal of it consisted of study of the mystical Brahman religion and the Hindu Philosophy of asceticism and isolation. Schools were kept by Brahmans, and to these not only Brahmans were permitted to go, but also members of the warrior and industrial classes, altho few from these classes attended. The workers and outcasts were deprived of educational rights. So in practice education was a matter of caste and was almost limited to the Brahman of priestly caste. While by no means as barbarous and clumsy a system as the Chinese education among the Hindus was not progressive. It did not try to fit for life, for it consisted largely of the stuffing of the memory with the traditions and learning of the past. New methods and studies were forbidden. Even more than the Chinese system it affected but a small part of the population, fully 95 per cent being deprived of it. In both countries education was forbidden to women, or rather women were not considered worthy of education.

Jewish Education. — Jewish education might be termed a sort of connecting link between Oriental and Occidental systems of education. While it consisted largely in a study of sacred literature — the Old Testament, which was the Jewish law — it did give more opportunity for the development of personality than the systems of such countries as China and India. It was non-progressive and did not invite new theories or methods. It did not give any opportunity for the development of science and art. Like the Hindu education it was restricted largely to the priestly class and was not open to the great mass of the population. In the matter of schools it was not so highly developed as the educational system of China, which had a regular system of schools. Most of the teaching was done in the temples, and regular schools were not organized until the close of the national life of the race.

Greek Education. — Real educational progress began with the Greeks. Here the past was not worshipped as in the Orient, and progress was made. The methods of education,

however, differed with the ideals of the individual state, those of Athens and Sparta being the extremes.

Spartan education was almost wholly physical and was a preparation for service to the state. It was severe and stern, even cruel at times, and was required of all Spartans, who, however, made up only about one-twentieth of the population. Because of this great inferiority in numbers the Spartans were obliged to be a superior race of fighters, and their whole system of training had that end in view. The infant was inspected at birth, and if sickly or deformed was "exposed" to die in the mountains. If healthy, the child was allowed to remain with its mother till seven years old, when it was placed in barracks and trained by the state. Here the youth was subject to discipline and spent his time in drilling and gymnastic exercises. The boys were taught to live a simple life by means of hard beds and scanty clothing and diet. Slight intellectual training was given; that provided was of such a nature as the memorizing of the laws of Lycurgus and selections from Homer. Each boy was given an adult adviser. At the age of eighteen training in arms and methods of warfare was begun, varied by a severe flogging every ten days before the temple of Artemis. This continued for two years, when the youth entered the regular army and was assigned to a border fortress, where he was compelled to live on the coarsest of fare. At the age of thirty every man was compelled to marry at once, as he was supposed to have reached man's estate. He could, however, live with his wife only clandestinely, being obliged to remain in the barracks and assist in the training of the boys. Similar education was marked out for the girls, in order that they might become mothers of sturdy sons, only they remained at home. The whole system was designed to create strong warriors; it did to a wonderful degree accomplish its purpose. On the other hand Sparta accomplished nothing in art, literature, or philosophy, and contributed little if anything to civilization other than the giving of examples of heroism, physical endurance, indifference to pain and discomfort.

Athenian Education.—In early Athens education of the youth by training for service to the state was quite similar to that in Sparta. Training began at the age of seven, but it was not limited to physical drill. Along with physical exercises (which lacked the severity of the Spartan regime) went education in music, reading, and writing. Moral training and

discipline were given by a slave, called a pedagogue. At fifteen the Athenian youth took advanced training on the *gymnazia*, or exercising ground, and was given permission to go and come as he chose. At eighteen he took the oath of loyalty to Athens and entered upon a period of two years military training, first at Athens, then at a fortress on the frontier. At twenty he became a citizen, but his education continued in the drama, in architecture, in sculpture, and in art. The weakness of the Athenian system was that the women were neglected entirely, except for training in household duties. Aside from this defect Athenian education was far superior to that of Sparta, producing a better rounded citizen.

Later this older form of education gave way to one of extreme individualism, under which the happiness of the individual was given more consideration than the welfare of the state. The study of grammar and rhetoric was especially emphasized because of the eagerness of the men to enter political life, and training in the *gymnazia* was neglected. With this change there appeared a class of teachers known as *sophists*; many of them were skilled teachers, but others were noted for their ability to argue and for their willingness to take any position. The three world renowned Greek philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, lived during this period; they attempted to harmonize the old and the new educational institutions and to build systems of education and that for future generations. They had little effect on the immediate times, altho they have influenced all succeeding generations; their point of view even dominated the thought of Europe for centuries. After them there arose schools of rhetoric and philosophy, out of which grew the universities, such as the University of Athens, which flourished from the fourth century B. C. Other universities followed, the most noted of which were those of Pergamon, Rhodes, Alexandria, and Rome; but Athens remained the intellectual center of the world until about A. D. 300, when it was displaced by Alexandria. During this time students flocked to Athens from all parts of the Roman Empire. The later intellectual supremacy of Alexandria resulted from the development of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy and from the reputation of such investigators as Euclid in geometry, Archimedes in physics, Eratosthenes in astronomy, and Diaphontus in algebra. In addition to the university centers many different

schools of philosophers sprang up in various parts of the Hellenic world.

Greek thought and civilization extended over the Orient and carried its sway into every part of the Roman world. In fact Greek thought did not merely conquer Rome; it has had its influence upon every age from that time down to the present. The contribution of Greece to the world was that of civilization.

Roman Education. — During the early days of Rome education was largely a family affair and, with the exception of a few elementary schools, there were no schools. Children were taught by their parents, but because of the intense patriotism and active military policy of the Roman people the object of all teaching was service to the state. The boys were trained by their fathers and the girls by the mothers, altho in early childhood the mothers instructed both. Both were given physical and moral training, and the ideals were rigorous and the discipline severe. As the boy grew older, he accompanied his father and thus learned efficiency in life by the force of example. If the boy belonged to the patrician class, he might be trained for a profession, such as that of a soldier, lawyer, or statesman. If he was of the plebeian class, he usually learned the trade or occupation of his father. A girl, no matter to which class she belonged, was instructed in the domestic arts, especially in spinning and weaving wool. Thru their parents the children were generally taught to read and write and to commit to memory legends, ballads, and martial and religious songs, and were made familiar with the *Twelve Tables*, or national laws. Thus the education during this period was essentially practical and was intended to produce efficient parents, citizens, and soldiers — an aim which it accomplished. It trained the youth to be strong in mind and body, simple in his life, and reverential to the gods, to parents, and to law and tradition. It produced a nation of fighters, but did not produce idealists or philosophers; consequently ideals were narrow, selfish, and low. It served while Rome was small, but when Rome became a world power, this form of training had to be supplemented.

Hellenization of Roman Education. — In 168 B. C. Rome conquered Macedon, which under the leadership of Phillip and Alexander had previously absorbed Greece. Instead of imposing Roman education upon Greece, Rome adopted Greek culture and civilization; part of this civilization which was

transplanted to Rome was the Greek system of education. It was not adopted altogether in the Greek form, but as it worked out in practice, Greek education was added to the Roman, and the result was an amalgamation of both; there was evolved a system of schools, consisting of three grades: (1) the *ludus*, or elementary school; (2) the "grammar" school; and (3) the "rhetorical" school.

The Ludus, or lowest school, in all probability existed before the conquest of Greece, as an extension of home training, but it was not fully developed until after the introduction of Greek methods. Thru imitation and memory, in much the same manner as formerly was used in the home, were taught reading, writing and the rudiments of calculation. Little if any effort was made to give the meaning or reason, and of course the work was irksome and devoid of interest. Discipline was severe and enforced by use of the lash, rod, and whip, and the teachers as a rule were feared and hated. The Greek custom of having a slave accompany the child to school was adopted by the Romans.

The Grammar School was a result of the increasing demand for education. Here were studied especially grammar and literature, including a study of the poets and prose writers, with some work in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, geography, and music. Gymnastic exercises were also frequently added. There was little improvement, however, in methods of discipline, altho the schools were better equipped in the way of desks and decorations, as well as separate buildings; the elementary schools were generally held in porches and in booths.

The Rhetorical Schools were really professional schools, fitting for the occupation of politics and statesmanship. The training was chiefly in oratory, law, and history. The courses were broadened out by linguistic and literary education, altho the main feature was training in declamation and oratory. After completion of the course at a rhetorical school the student might supplement his education with work at a *university*, the most popular of which being the universities of Athens, Rhodes, and Alexandria, and later the one at Rome itself.

At first there was no formal educational system, the establishment of schools being a private matter. But in the time of the later empire the government began to subsidize the schools by contributing to their support, paying certain teachers, exempting the students from taxes and military duties,

and offering scholarships. On account of the rapid establishment of schools caused by the desire of the people to obtain these privileges rather than to further education, and on account of his wish to correct other abuses connected with the schools the emperor, by decreeing that he alone had the authority to establish schools, assumed control over them and brot them into the hands of the government; in this way he laid the basis for a system of public education, the first known to history. While in the later days of the empire the schools deteriorated in character and purpose and lost their real functions, Roman education left its impress upon the world. It was essentially practical and helped mold the institutions that have advanced civilization. It adopted as a basis Greek education and added practical features and thus prepared the world for further progress. It paved the way for the new educational system which was brot in by the Christian Church and which largely replaced the Roman school. The chief defect in Roman education was perhaps that it, like the Greek, was limited to the upper classes, and therefore was not democratic.

Early Christian Education.—When Rome, becoming depraved and corrupt, began to decline, Christianity appeared and after its introduction into Italy spread rapidly in spite of all attempts to prevent it. At first the new religion was accepted largely by the lower classes, such as the slaves and the poor. The majority of these classes of people were uneducated and unintelligent. The new religion, however, supplied them with moral training of a high order. Because of persecution and ostracism the early Christians were compelled to segregate more or less. There was within these groups of Christians a demand for instruction in the new religion, and it was deemed necessary to give some such instruction before admitting into church membership. This led to the establishment of what were called "catechumenal" schools, which were held generally in some part of the church building, such as the portico. The instruction was chiefly religious, including the reading and memorizing of scripture and the singing of hymns. The course of instruction usually lasted for a period of three years.

The early Christians were suspicious of the Greek and Roman philosophy and education. It was only natural that they should not overlook entirely the immorality of the Romans or forget the terrible persecutions the Romans imposed

on them. But gradually there developed a reconciliation between the two, resulting in certain catechetical schools, in which there was some sort of alliance between Græco-Roman and Christian thought in education. The best known of these schools was probably the one at Alexandria, which was headed by Clement (150-215) and Origen (185-253), who were extremely advanced in their theology, so much so that they were branded as being heretical. In these schools Christianity received a philosophical interpretation. Then in order to train workers and those intending to enter the clergy there were organized in the different cities what were known as "episcopal" or "bishop's" schools, later known as "cathedral" schools, because of their location. They developed into schools of three types, the "grammar" school, the "song" or music school, and the "chorister's" school, which was a combination of both. These spread in popularity and took the place of the older Roman schools which were subsidised by the emperors. With these schools there grew up again opposition to the Greek and Roman culture and ideas of life, and there was a breaking away from the Greek and Roman philosophy. This led to the rise of the monastic schools, which had so great an influence during the Middle Ages.

Education During the Middle Ages. — *Monastic Education.* — By the decree of Justinian in A. D. 529 the pagan schools were abolished and the field was thus left open to the cathedral and monastic schools. Along with the corruption of Roman society monasticism grew up as a result of the desire on the part of some people for a deeper religious life and as a reaction to the prevailing vice. Monasteries were founded, where the monks lived in cells, meeting for meals, communion, and instruction. This movement began in Egypt but quickly spread over Syria, Palestine, Greece, Italy, and Gaul. In the west the attention of the monks was directed especially to the cultivation of the soil and the preservation of literature. In accordance with a rule of St. Benedict most of the monasteries adopted the plan of spending seven hours a day in manual labor and two hours in systematic reading. This created a demand for manuscripts, and each monastery had its "writing room" for the copying of manuscripts. Most of these manuscripts were of a religious nature, but some of them were from the classics. This led to much literary activity and helped to preserve the learning of the past. It also led to the establishment of monastic

schools with organized courses of study, of eight or ten years in length. These schools were instituted for the training of youths for the monastic orders, altho some boys were admitted who did not intend to become monks; likewise some instruction was given women in the convents for nuns. At first the training in these schools was elementary and narrow, but later included such studies as grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, which were called the lower studies, and arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, which were known as the higher studies. Grammar did include, however, some work in literature; rhetoric some knowledge of law and history; dialectic led to metaphysics; geometry included geography and surveying; music reached such advanced phases as the theory of music, and astronomy included some physics and higher mathematics; so the courses of study were not so narrow as they would seem at first glance. Text-books were scarce, and the instructor usually dictated and the pupil took the dictation down upon tablets and memorized it. As a result of these schools many text-books were written, some of which were of very high grade. While the monastic schools were uncritical, superstitious, and decidedly hostile to the classics and science, they did the world a great service by preserving and handing down much Græco-Roman culture that otherwise would have been lost.

During the seventh and eighth centuries the schools of Europe had degenerated and education stood at a low ebb. It was at this time that Charlemagne, noticing the degeneracy, induced Alcuin, the head of a famous cathedral school at York, to cross over to the continent and reorganize education in France. He built up, with the patronage of Charlemagne, the Palace School, where instruction included grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, and theology. He also improved the cathedral, monastic, and parish schools. Later Alcuin retired to the monastery at Tours, where he established a school, to which the bright youths of the empire flocked. Many of these later became teachers and churchmen. Altho in his old age Alcuin became ultra-conservative, his pupils generally were broad-minded, and the effect of his going to France was a marked revival in education.

Moslem Contributions.—Because of the almost absolute illiteracy of Mohammed the Koran, or Moslem Bible, was a strange jumble of religious ideas gathered together by Mohammed. When Mohammedanism came into contact with

Greek philosophy in Syria and Asia Minor, the Koran had to be interpreted in Hellenistic terms. Works in philosophy, mathematics, and science were translated into Arabic, and the Mohammedan cities of Syria became noted for their learning. This fame did not, however, win the approval of the mass of Mohammedans; consequently these advanced members were driven out of Syria, taking refuge in Northern Africa and Spain. Here they founded colleges at Cordova, Granada, Toledo, and elsewhere, which preserved learning, especially in mathematics, science, law, and metaphysics. They came into contact with the Christians and created a desire for Greek learning, which was later able to be better satisfied when the Venetians brot the original Greek books to Western Europe. This transfer of manuscripts preserved much of the learning of the East, which might otherwise have been lost.

Mediæval Universities.—Partly as a result of Moslem stimulation and partly on account of the local conditions there sprang up in Europe towards the close of the Middle Ages many noted universities. The first of these was at Salerno, near Naples; it was simply a school of medicine, being the product of local conditions, such as the existence there of mineral springs and the preservation at that place of old Greek medical works. Probably the most noted of these universities was a Bologna, in Northern Italy; it thru investigations in Roman law became noted for its teachings of canon and civil law. It was chartered by Frederick Barbarossa in 1158, and was perhaps the first real university, having faculties in arts, medicine, and theology. The university at Paris was the next in order of foundation, and it became the most famous of them all. The universities of Bologna and Paris were examples of two different kinds, the former representing the type known as "student" universities. In this sort of institution the government was in the hands of the students, who were often mature men; they selected the masters and determined the fees, length of term, and date of beginning. Paris represented the type known as "master" universities, where the students were younger and where all management was in the hands of the masters. At the beginning of the renaissance about eighty universities had been established upon one or the other of these two plans. About thirty of them died out and the others changed a great deal in character.

Generally these universities were granted charters, which carried special privileges of some kind, such as exemption from taxes and military service, the right to license masters, and the privilege of "striking" when rights were infringed upon. In the last case lectures might be suspended and the university moved to another town a transfer which was not very difficult because of lack of laboratories, libraries and other equipment. Wandering students, a shiftless, reckless, and vicious lot, begging their way from one place to another and migrating from university to university, were also a feature of the time.

These universities in time began to be organized, the students according to the countries or sections of Europe from which they came, and the masters into faculties. Each group of students had its counselor, who represented it and looked after its interests; and each faculty had its dean, who acted as its representative. The deans and counselors together generally selected the "rector", or head of the university. The faculties represented were as a rule arts, law, medicine, and theology. The courses of study in each of these were decreed either by papal decree or by legislation on the part of the university. The course in arts included the subjects taught in the monastic school, with the addition of the study of Aristotle. In the law course *Corpus Juris Civilis* and the *Decree of Gratian* were used as texts in civil and canon law respectively. Texts were also used in the medical and theological courses. The lecture method was employed extensively, in which the texts were read and explained by means of notes, summaries, cross-references, and opinions of the professors. Opportunity was also given for argument and debate, all exercises being carried on in Latin, which had to be learned by the student before entering the university. Examinations were held and degrees conferred in much the same manner as at the present day. While the information was meager and the manner of presentation stereotyped and authoritative and while little was done in constructive thinking or investigation, the mediæval university contained the germ of modern inquiry and freedom, and thus paved the way for progressive educational ideas. It advanced the cause of individualism and contributed its part to civilization and progress.

Other agencies, outside the school systems, made for certain types of education, such as that given the upper classes thru the institution of *chivalry* and the industrial education received

by members of the *merchant* or *craft guilds*. In the former case the boys who expected to become knights were required to pass thru a long period of training, first at home, then at some castle, where the youth served as a page and was trained by both the lord and lady, especially the latter; and later as a squire, when he attended the lord at the tournament or on the battlefield and went thru a more strenuous training. Upon being knighted he had to observe certain ceremonies.

With the rise of commerce and industry in the later Middle Ages there developed merchant cities and a burgher class. Workmen organized themselves into guilds, which exercised rigid supervision of the industry and among other things regulated carefully the learning of the trade, in order to maintain quality of product and to guarantee prosperity for the workman. There were three stages, (1) apprentice, (2) journeyman, and (3) master. The apprentice received no wages but was under the protection of the guild while he received instruction. A journeyman received wages, but only by working for a master; he was obliged to pass an examination set by the guild before he was allowed to become a master. Thus industrial education was thoroly given. Guilds also usually maintained priests that they might instruct the children a part of the time; later priests were regularly employed to teach school, and in this way guild schools sprang up. These were afterward absorbed by burgher or town schools, in which practical education was given in reading, writing, and reckoning. They were controlled by the public authorities and represented the interests of the commercial and industrial classes. They not only contributed to the development of commerce and industry, but they educated the masses and were a large factor in preparing the way for the Renaissance.

The Renaissance and Reformation.—*Classical Education.*—The intellectual awakening, known as the Renaissance, which occurred during the fourteenth century, brot into Europe a tremendous revival of learning. It took the form of study of the classics, and an enthusiasm or craze for this form of study spread over Europe with an eagerness, that knew no bounds. At first it was limited to a revival of the Latin classics and naturally started in Italy, the home of the Latin classics. The most noted of the early students of the classics were Petrarch and his pupil Boccaccio; thru their efforts and influence many Latin manu-

scripts were recovered, preserved, and copied, and a wide knowledge of Latin was handed down for future study. Not much was done with the study of Greek till Chrysolas arrived in Italy as an envoy of the Eastern emperor and was induced to settle there in 1396 in order to teach Greek. With his help translations were made and a Greek grammar written. From that time the study of both Latin and Greek became the rage.

The tyrants of many of the Italian cities, including Florence, Venice, Padua, Verona, Ferrara, and Mantua, established schools in order to foster study of the classics; they did this as a means of catering to public sentiment, thus making their own positions more secure. The most famous of these was the school headed by Vittorino da Feltre, which aimed at a harmonious development of mind, body, and morals. A grammatical and literary study of both the Latin and Greek writers was given, providing the student with a grasp of vocabulary, rhythm, and style. Mathematical subjects were also taught and physical and moral instruction given. This school turned out a number of distinguished statesmen, churchmen, scholars, and rulers. The schools of this type received the children of the nobility and aristocracy at an early age and retained them until they were twenty-one; in this way they became rivals of the universities, because they carried the students generally as far and sometimes farther than did the universities. Because of this competition the universities were compelled to add the classics to their curriculums. In Italy the study of the classics gradually degenerated into an aping of the style and forms of Cicero and became known as "Ciceronianism".

The study of the classics spread from Italy northward into France and Germany, where it took on a broader system of culture. It was especially stimulated in France by the enthusiasm resulting from expeditions of several of the French kings into Italy, and later under the patronage of Francis I it was introduced into most of the educational institutions of France and produced many famous scholars. In Germany the Hieronymians, or Bretheren of the Common Lot, were the first to introduce the study into their schools. Here Erasmus, who became the leader of the classical education in the north, was trained. Under his influence many textbooks and educational treatises were prepared and much inspiration was given. Classical training was introduced into many

schools, and from the old cathedral and upper burgher schools there evolved the German "gymnazium", the typical classical school of that country. One of the first of these was established by Sturm at Strassburg, where a course of ten classes was provided, in which a careful study of the classics was carried out. The movement spread to England and was taken up at Oxford and Cambridge. The real development at Cambridge began when Erasmus, professor of theology, consented to lecture on Greek as a labor of love. A model for all secondary schools was founded in 1509 at St. Paul's by Colet. The study of the classics in England, however, degenerated into formalism, and the secondary schools have improved but little to the present day. The secondary schools of the American colonies were modeled upon those of the mother country.

Educational Influence of the Reformation.—The Reformation gave the world not only a religious awakening, but an educational inspiration as well. Luther stood primarily for religious reform, but he advocated that education should prepare for citizenship and should be state supported. Zwingli held similar views, but was killed before he was able to exercise much influence; Calvin not only founded by his own effort several colleges but exercised an influence in the founding of others and determining the educational thot of Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, England and Scotland.

Catholic education also received a new impetus. The Jesuits organized colleges to extend Catholic Christianity; these taught the classics, theology, and philosophy. The teachers were carefully trained and selected, and while the methods used consisted largely of memorizing and reviewing, with devices to stir up rivalry, they were effective. These colleges increased almost phenomenally, till in 1556 there were 769 such institutions scattered thruout the world, with an attendance of at least 200,000 students. Because of quarrels with the church the Jesuit order, the society of Jesus, was dissolved by the pope. While it was later restored, the educational influence never again became so great.

Other Catholic bodies founded schools and exerted new educational influences; such were the Jansenists, generally known as Port Royalists, because of the educational methods used in the convent school at Port Royal. They held that reason was more important than memory, and established small schools, known as "little schools", where individual instruc-

tion was emphasized, where stress was placed upon the vernacular, logic, and geometry. The phonetic method of instruction was here employed. The Christian Brothers emphasized practical studies in addition to the study of academic subjects and religion. They introduced the "simultaneous" or group method of instruction, using it instead of individual instruction, which had prevailed in the past. They also established training courses for teachers for the elementary schools.

One of the influences of the Reformation was the creation of an inclination towards universal elementary education and control of the schools by the state. While some Catholics in Germany, Holland, Scotland, and some of the American colonies took this position, the movement was much stronger among Protestants in those countries. With the Protestants the secondary schools came largely under the management of civil authorities, altho the clergy generally taught and inspected them. With the Catholics secondary education was mainly in the hands of the Jesuits. During this time many colleges changed from the Catholic to the Protestant faith, and many new colleges, both Catholic and Protestant, were founded.

Modern Times. — During the seventeenth century *scientific education* developed rapidly. It had been stimulated by the labors of Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo in the field of astronomy and by the discoveries of Torricelli, Boyle, and Guericke. Newton, with his laws of motion; Harvey, with the discovery of the circulation of the blood; and other scientists, with their contributions, simply added to this impetus. The scientific movement was opposed at first by the churches and consequently was not taken up by the colleges and universities for some time. But slowly and indirectly it crept into the elementary schools and in time was incorporated in the courses of study of the colleges and universities throughout the world. German universities were the first to do so, especially those of Halle and Göttingen. The English universities of Oxford and Cambridge were much slower to accept science as an object of study. During the early part of the eighteenth century Yale, Princeton, Kings (afterwards Columbia), Dartmouth, Union, and Pennsylvania offered work in science, and Harvard did so even before the close of the seventeenth century.

Growth of Democracy in Education. Its Extension to the

Lower Classes.—During the early part of the eighteenth century there was a revolt against the principle of repression in theology and education much like the revolt during the latter part of the same century against political repression. There was a struggle to free the intellect from form and dogma and to interpret life from a more reasonable and natural point of view. One of the great thinkers of those times was Voltaire who championed reason against tradition. While he particularly assailed the church, both Protestant and Roman Catholic—especially the latter—because he considered it an enemy to liberty and progress, he aided education, not only by his criticism of the old systems, but by his introduction into France of the new theories of education with which he had become acquainted while an exile in England.

In the eighteenth century there were also many attempts at more universal education, especially in England, where the condition of the laboring class, which made up about one-sixth of the population, was wretched, wages being low, work irregular, and dire poverty general. Many charity schools were established and philanthropic societies formed to extend this work; such was the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the latter of which supported schools in all the American colonies except Virginia. These societies were organized and managed by philanthropic individuals. They met much opposition on the part of the upper classes, on the ground that the business of the working classes was to labor and not to think; and on the part of the lower classes, because they resented charity. This movement flourished for a while and as mentioned above, was even extended to America, where a number of such societies were organized and schools founded; but in time interest waned, subscriptions fell off, and the movement declined.

Monitor Schools.—Another movement which did much for the extension of education to the masses because of its method, was the system of instruction thru monitors, a system developed in England by two rivals, Lancaster and Bell. With the use of older students as monitors a much larger number could be instructed at a time than under the previous, more individual methods. This was carried out by company organization and drill, a system of officers, badges, rewards and punishments being provided. While formal and mechanical,

it added much to the idea of national education and paved the way for state support; it also greatly improved methods of teaching. It spread widely and was adopted to a considerable extent in the United States, but disappeared with the improvement in educational sentiment. It contributed, however, its part to the advance of education.

Infant Schools for poor children were introduced during the early part of the nineteenth century in France, England, and the United States. While founded largely from philanthropic motives, they spread widely and were adopted as a regular part of the national school systems. They soon became formal and mechanical, but had a beneficial effect by introducing better methods and equipment. They encouraged a movement towards play-grounds, and in the United States brot women into the schools as teachers.

While much opposed, the philanthropic movement in education was of value in that it prepared the way for national and public education.

Educational Reforms. — 1. *Naturalistic Tendency.* — The chief instigator of this movement was Rousseau (1712-1798). While better known to the student of sociology and political science thru his *Social Contract*, he by means of his *Emile* had a tremendous influence upon education. In this work he takes up in five books the training of the youth. In the first book he takes the child from birth to five years of age, during which time the training should consist of physical activities; in the second, from five to twelve, or during childhood, when the training should develop the limbs and senses; in the third, from twelve to fifteen years, or during boyhood, when the training should be intellectual and should include a study of the natural sciences, by means of stimulating the curiosity concerning nature; in the fourth, from fifteen to twenty, the time for social and moral development, for during this period the sex interests appear and should be properly guided and trained. The fifth book takes up the training of the girl. *Emile* is supposed to marry; she is made to be extremely parasitic. In this work Rousseau, while inconsistent at times, is brilliant and suggestive; it entitles him to rank as an originator of the social, scientific, and psychological movements in education. He did not, however, make any immediate impression upon educators; in fact it fell to Basedow first to put the naturalism of Rousseau into practice. He took the stand that education should be prac-

tical and should follow the methods of play. He established, thru the aid of subsidies, a model school, known as the "philanthropinum", and produced several textbooks for this method. Languages were taught thru conversation, and games and other sciences by equally natural methods. Industrial training was also included. The school was very successful and was copied to such an extent that this type of school became a fad. Nevertheless it did much good by giving a new stimulus to education.

2. *Observation and Industrial Training — Pestalozzi (1746-1827).* — The further development and practical application of the naturalism theory of Rousseau was left to Pestalozzi to carry out. Early in life he was inspired with the desire to elevate the degraded peasantry of Europe. After meeting failure in the ministry and law he turned his attention to education, where in a school at Neuhof he undertook a combination of industrial and educational training, but failed in the undertaking. In 1798 he was given another opportunity to carry out his philanthropic and industrial ideas in education. Having no assistants, books or materials, he was obliged to instruct thru observation, a method which he used in morals, arithmetic, languages, geography, and history. In another school at Burgdorf Pestalozzi was obliged to discontinue industrial training, but here and later at Yverdon he developed his observational method to its culmination. He looked upon education as a natural development of innate powers. He believed that clear ideas could be formed only thru the aid of the senses, and he tried to reduce each subject to its simplest elements and to develop it by means of graded exercises. He insisted that education follow the psychological steps of a child's development. He sought to elevate society by means of education, and while his methods were unoriginal, impractical, inconsistent, and lacking in science and organization, he was the real progenitor of modern pedagogy. Not only did he usher in new methods of instruction, but he started a new type of discipline, substituting friendliness and love for the brutal methods then in vogue. Because of this, his methods spread rapidly over Europe and the United States, being much extended by his followers. The industrial and intellectual combination, which Pestalozzi was obliged to discard because of the social position of his pupils, was taken up by his friend Fellenberg (1771-1844) at Hofwyl. It was continued in industrial train-

ing schools in Europe and in the "manual labor" movement in the United States, where it has been particularly developed in the Indian and Negro schools, such as Carlisle, Hampton, and Tuskegee, and also in schools for defectives and delinquents. The idea likewise underlies the manual training departments of our public schools and the special trade schools.

(3). *Herbart* (1776-1841) and *Froebel* (1782-1852). Two followers of Pestalozzi, who extended and carried on to a higher development the work of their master, were Herbart and Froebel. Each of these worked out systems of pedagogy, Herbart basing his upon his own ingenious psychology, and Froebel his upon a kind of mystic philosophy. Both reproduced theories of Pestalozzi in a more logical manner. Herbart and his followers laid stress particularly upon the moral aim of education and the control of conduct thru ideas. They elaborated a theory of subject matter which was based upon epochs of cultural development; they set up an organization of the curriculum founded on correlation of studies and upon the unity of knowledge and experience. Herbart believed that the mind develops thru its own experiences, that in this manner education can control the growth of intelligence and character, and that instruction should stimulate thru ideas and experiences.

Froebel laid emphasis upon self-activity as the basis and method of instruction; upon natural interests as the starting point of all education; and upon play, constructive work, and the study of nature as the chief means of teaching. He held that self-realization, or individualization, can only be achieved thru the development of the social instincts. In addition he developed the kindergarten, or school without books or tasks, and thus was the originator of the kindergarten movement, which has spread over Europe and America.

Nearly all the modern tendencies in education can be traced back in some rudimentary form to Herbart or Froebel; in fact present educational theory is largely a synthesis of Herbartian and Froebelian ideas, the latter being probably more in accord with modern thought.

American Educational Development. — *Colonial Education.* — Naturally the schools of the early colonies closely resembled those of the countries from which the colonists migrated; just as naturally they were influenced by the prevailing religious and political ideas. The colonies which were

under democratic control and in which the Calvinistic attitude prevailed made attempts at a sort of universal education, and those which were under aristocratic control and were made up of followers of the church of England did not favor universal education. The Calvinists favored universal education because they believed that the people should be able to read the scriptures in order that they might be guided by the word of God. The aristocratic type spent more time and means upon establishing higher education than they did upon universal education. After many efforts this influence caused the founding of William and Mary College in 1692, and little was done for the education of the poorer classes in Virginia and the South until many years later.

Three types of school organization developed in the colonies: (1) the *laissez faire* method as followed in Virginia and most of the Southern colonies, where secondary and higher education for the upper classes was fostered, with little education, except industrial training thru apprenticeship for the orphans and children of the poor. Here education was looked upon largely as a private or family matter; (2) the parochial type as found in New Netherlands and in most of the middle colonies; (3) the governmental school system as found in Massachusetts and most of the New England colonies.

Period of Transition.—About the middle of the eighteenth century there began a gradual modification of educational ideals and practices in regard to American education which extended until after the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when our regular public school systems had become more or less definitely worked out. In most of the Southern states, especially in Virginia, there had to develop a sentiment in favor of public education. Jefferson in his time worked out an elaborate scheme of public education, by which the country was divided into small districts, each having its public elementary school and selecting from these schools the best students to go to more advanced schools, where in turn the selective process was to continue, till the best were finally educated at public expense at William and Mary College. This scheme was never carried out, but slowly permanent school funds were established and laws passed thruout the Southern states establishing public schools. At first these met with much opposition, both from the wealthy, who did not see why they should be taxed to support schools which would bring them no good, and from the poor, who

resented this apparent charity. Then for a long time it was difficult to secure competent teachers, because graduates of colleges and academies refused to teach in the schools for the poor. But by degrees these objections were overcome and the schools increased in number and usefulness.

About 1800 New York began to make appropriations for public elementary schools, altho it still neglected secondary schools. In New York City quasi-public societies, such as the "Free School Society", later called the "Public School Society" were forerunners of a system of public instruction. The new constitution adopted in Pennsylvania in 1790 made provision for the establishment of schools for the poor, but the usual method followed was to pay the tuition of poor children in private schools, till in 1818 Philadelphia established school districts and provided schools upon the Lancasterian plan. These were extended in other places, but it was not until 1834 that a state system of common schools was started, and even then it was done over much opposition. New Jersey and Delaware were even slower to follow in this movement.

In Massachusetts provisions for public schools had been very generous and hearty, but instead of increasing as time went on, support of education degenerated. This was caused partly by the hard struggle for a living and partly by the westward migration of the more enterprising. Then the control of schools was changed from the town to the school district; many districts were either too poor or too indifferent to supply efficient teachers and equipment, and there resulted a great deal of inequality of schools. This decline became general in New England except in Rhode Island, which for the first time began to develop free public schools. In the states formed from the old Northwest Territory (now the North Central states) the sentiment for free public schools was stronger than in most of the older states, but many difficulties were in the way, such as the poverty, the sparsely settled country, poor roads, and incessant Indian wars, general land grants, however, acted as a stimulus, and systems of public instruction came into existence about 1825. These not only included, as a rule, free public instruction by means of elementary schools, but extended to the establishment of state universities, the most noted of which was the University of Michigan, which was established by the legislature in 1837 and opened in 1841.

Public Education. — With the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century the democratic idea in education spread very rapidly. The older arguments against public education and the opposition to it were broken down. The unwillingness of the wealthy to be taxed to educate other people's children and the regard of free public schools as pauper schools gave way. What is known as the "common school revival" took place in New England and spread over the rest of the country. This movement for public education was aided greatly by the strenuous efforts of such able educators as James G. Carter (1795-1849), a practical educator, who advocated normal schools and secured by means of a legislative act in Massachusetts in 1826 town school committees and support for high schools; the law required each town of five hundred families to support a free high school, and later an act passed in 1837 secured a State Board of Education. Horace Mann (1796-1859) followed Carter and advocated free and universal education (for girls as well as boys), better equipped, more sanitary, and better lighted buildings, more scientific methods, trained teachers, and practical studies; he also insisted that character should be the chief aim of education. Henry Barnard (1811-1900) did much to advertise before the public new methods in education, especially thru the *American Journal of Education*, which he began to publish at his own expense.

This awakening and growing of public sentiment was followed by a steady increase in universal education, state support and control, supervision by local authorities, and the organization of normal schools thruout New England and the Middle states. In the Western states those settlers who came from states where public education was not fostered were convinced of the value of it by those who came from states which were in favor of public instruction; and as the West was settled up, progress in educational development kept pace with the expansion of the country. Advancement was also made in the Southern states, but this was greatly hindered by the Civil War, when all education was paralyzed for a time.

European Educational Systems. — During the past one hundred and fifty years there have been developed in many of the European countries centralized state systems, which differ in many ways from the educational systems of the United States; the most important are perhaps those of Prus-

sia, France, and England. In all these countries elementary education is now free, but only in a few cases is secondary education gratuitous, and only in France is education entirely secularized.

Prussia.—The early development of a system of universal education in Prussia was due largely to the strong line of Hohenzollern monarchs, who, while despotic and arbitrary, were advanced in thinking and had the real interests of the people at heart. This policy was begun as early as 1717 by Frederick William I, who decreed that wherever schools existed children were required to attend in winter, and in summer whenever their parents could spare their services. This policy was further extended by Frederick the Great and succeeding monarchs and was given still greater impetus by the conquest of Prussia by Napoleon, when it was realized that a centralized system was necessary.

The Prussian system is somewhat complicated and to American minds perhaps unjust. At the foot of the ladder are the *Volksschulen*, or people's schools, which are free and open to all. These carry the child from six to fourteen years, but do not lead to higher schools; in fact the graduates of these schools are not admitted to the gymnasium, and after the third year transfer is practically impossible; thus at the age of nine the fate of the child as far as education is concerned is determined, altho continuation schools are generally open to them. The *Volksschulen* naturally are attended mostly by the lower classes. Then there are *Mittelschulen*, or middle schools; they are for the middle classes, who cannot send their children to the secondary schools, but who demand better educational facilities than those afforded the common people. The real Prussian educational system, however, consists of the system of secondary schools. Three types of these have developed, the *Gymnasien*, which place their emphasis upon the classics; the *Realschulen*, which are characterized by larger amounts of modern languages, mathematics, and the natural sciences; and the *Realgymnasien*, a compromise between the two, resulting from discrimination against the *Realschulen*, which were looked upon as inferior. The fact that most of these had only six year courses as compared with nine year courses of the *Gymnasien* led to the introduction of *Oberrealschulen*, with nine year courses. In rural districts, however, six year courses are often found. Tuition is usually charged for secondary education. Of recent years

there has come in the *Reformschulen*, which postpones for at least three years the choice of schools and leads to all three types of secondary schools. On top of the system of secondary schools are the universities and "technical high schools", the latter of which specialize in practical and technological aspects or science.

France.—The French system was developed later than the Prussian because of the corruptness of the Bourbon monarchs and because of the social conditions, under which the lower classes were held down. But under Napoleon a highly centralized system was developed in which secondary and higher education were united into one corporation, known as "the University of France" (1808). Under Louis Philippe the elementary schools were organized and under the third republic elementary education was made free, compulsory, and secular. The secondary system consists of lycées and communal colleges, which are considered inferior to the lycées. These generally take the children at ten and keep them till seventeen, when the bachelor's degree is conferred. At first they were only for boys but now there are secondary schools for girls, altho the course is ordinarily two years shorter. They are not free, but as they are heavily subsidized by the state, the tuition is small. This system was really begun by Napoleon, who established universities, one-half of which were later suppressed, tho a few were afterwards reopened. Now there are universities in fifteen of the sixteen educational divisions of France.

England.—Progress was still slower towards universal education in England, because there was neither a despotic government to establish such a system nor a popular revolution to sweep away all opposition; and as a result national education was a slow evolution, and it was not until the close of the eighteenth century that the sentiment for universal education appeared. Then the upper classes strove to keep education away from the lower classes; control of the means of education was in the hands of the church. But gradually education was extended to the masses, but it was not until 1870 that schools in charge of school boards chosen by the people, (known as "board schools") were established, to fill in vacancies in the previous systems. Denominational or "voluntary" schools shared with these in receiving government grants, but they did not receive local "rates". Towards the end of the nineteenth century compulsory attendance till

the age of twelve and free tuition were established, and in 1899 a Central Board of Education was set up. But secondary education was not unified until 1902, when both systems were joined and supported at public expense. Also during the nineteenth century the monopoly held by the classics and the control by ecclesiastical authorities were broken, and more attention was given to modern languages and to the natural sciences. Above the secondary systems are Oxford and Cambridge and the various provincial universities.

Scientific Tendency in Education. — During the past two centuries there has been an increase in the stress placed upon the natural sciences; this has been of particular importance since the middle of the nineteenth century. This movement was greatly helped by the development of the theory of evolution, scientific discoveries, and the practical application of the result of science. The theory was advanced by such practical educators as Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, and Elliot that such training would not only be of vastly greater use to the average person than the older training in the classics, but would furnish as good mental discipline as well. This movement of course met with much opposition on the part of the followers of the classics, but has continually gained headway, science has gradually been included not only in the curriculum of the schools of higher education, but even in the secondary and elementary schools of Germany, France, England, and the United States.

In recent years there has been in the colleges and universities an equally strong tendency in the direction of the social sciences and this movement bids fair in the course of time to extend in like manner to the secondary schools.

Present Tendencies. — While in the past we have made great strides in educational progress, we are not content to stop but are progressing faster now than at almost any time in the past. Because of the recent great industrial growth we have incorporated industrial, commercial, and agricultural training into the school systems of both Europe and the United States. In Germany and France industrial training is carried on in continuation schools, where both theory and practice are taught. In the United States training of this sort began with evening schools and was later carried on in day schools, both public and private; it has now entered as an important part of our secondary school system and

is taught in many high schools and colleges along with the regular courses. It is also carried on in schools especially designed for this work. Germany has taught commercial subjects in private continuation schools and in secondary and university courses. Until recently the study of commerce was much neglected in both France and England, but of recent years England is remedying this defect. In America this study has been carried on chiefly by "business colleges" and in courses in secondary schools and colleges. Advanced work in business training is now being done by our leading colleges and universities in departments of business administration. In agricultural training Germany and France have done much in an introductory way in their elementary schools, as has likewise been done to some extent in the United States. The United States probably leads all countries in the establishment and perfection of special agricultural schools. Land grant acts by Congress did much for the establishment of agricultural colleges in all our states. Now, however, agricultural work is being much extended to our high schools, and the latest development of this movement is in the way of special agricultural high schools. During the last few years Europe has paid a great deal of attention to moral training, and this subject is attracting considerable attention in the United States, largely because of the greatly increasing impersonal relationships in our business life.

While the evolution of education has been largely the development of the spirit of individualization, most recent tendencies have been in the direction of shaping the educational systems so as to make them more useful to society, and at the same time not to injure the growth of individualism. In this way education is striving to be more and more useful for both the individual and society; it aims not only to train the individual to fit better into the social fabric, but also to enable society to do more for the individual. Schools have been developed for the training of defectives — not only those who are mentally deficient or less alert. Schools for the blind, the deaf, the dull, the truant and the precocious, and even for those possessing such peculiarities as stammering and for those afflicted with tuberculosis are along the lines of modern improvement. Instead of forcing those who are handicapped into the regular school mill we now establish special schools for these classes. More and more attention is now being paid to school hygiene and care for the health of the

pupils, to improvement of school architecture for the sake of making the school more attractive, and to making teachers more efficient by giving greater recognition to the profession. Many experiments have recently been carried on by such men as Dewey in his experimental school at the University of Chicago during the 90's and by such schemes as the now famous Gary school plan, by which more effective use of the school plant is obtained and the school made more attractive and useful by means of rotation and variation of school activities. Surveys and experiments are constantly being made, and our whole educational system is being overhauled and reorganized that it may become more efficient and useful to society. One result of the Great War will undoubtedly be a radical change in our educational systems and ideals, especially along the lines of standardization and efficiency, the elimination of waste, and the construction of useful courses of study. This first took the form of greater encouragement of scientific studies, and now is placing greater stress on courses of study leading to social efficiency.

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PART FOUR
ANALYSIS OF SOCIETY



CHAPTER XV

INSTINCTS, FEELING, AND INTELLECT

In order to get an idea of how society is made up we must study the forces that control society and the interests that prompt man to act; but before we do even this, it is necessary to consider what kind of a being man is to begin with. It is with this phase that the present chapter deals. While man began as an animal among animals, he was a superior one, being endowed with mental and physical faculties not enjoyed by other animals, particularly mental capacity. In many ways, especially in strength, speed, and endurance, he was easily excelled by many animals whom he nevertheless conquered because of his superior make-up. But in some ways he resembled other animals to a great extent. While in this work we shall make no pretense to a psychological analysis of man or even a study of his mental machinery we must touch the psychological side of sociology and try to isolate the impulses that prompt man to do what he does and weigh the forces that control his action, especially those forces that are within him; the environmental forces we have already considered. While man is controlled largely by his environment, that is not all, for he inherits characteristics which to a great extent determine his success in life. This is true not only of the individual but of mankind in general.

Instincts. — The instincts, or innate impulses or tendencies, are directly or indirectly the prime movers of human activity, the mainsprings to action. Without them society would be inert and lifeless. We ordinarily associate instinct with animals, but when we look into the matter carefully, we find that man has instincts as do the animals, that in fact he has many instincts in common with them. Because of the complexity of these instinctive impulses it is extremely difficult to classify them, for it is impossible to separate entirely any one instinct or set of instincts from other instincts, for they are bound up even more closely than are the muscles

of the body. Even if we tried to analyze them carefully, such a treatment would not help us much in sociology, for we are interested in them rather as motives for action and as means of social control. Psychologists have studied the instincts in detail, but sociologists have not treated the subjects much, Ellwood¹ being about the only modern sociologist who gives anything like a clear cut treatment of the subject. It is from social psychologists, like McDougall,² that we are obliged to turn for information along this line. We must not look upon instincts as being incapable of modification, for even animal instincts may be trained. Also instincts must have stimuli to develop them, and their importance is limited to a great extent by the character of these stimuli. Then instincts do not necessarily exclude consciousness and intellect, for both of these are often used to carry out the direction of the instincts. We must therefore look upon instincts as innate tendencies to perceive, to pay attention to objects, to experience emotional excitement of a certain nature upon perceiving such objects, and to act or experience some impulse to act upon such perception.

Human instincts are not hard and fast instincts such as we find among animals, but are more or less generalized tendencies to act, thus enabling man to cope with his environment, furnishing a starting point for mental and social life, and supplying a basis for habits. Almost every human instinct has its parallel or counterpart in animal life. In studying human instincts we shall take up those instincts or groups of instinctive impulses that center about certain modes of action. Altho these impulses often conflict and are intricately interwoven, we shall treat them according to this plan.

Food Instinct.—In common with animals man has the innate instinct to obtain nourishment for himself. This is seen with the infant, for it does not have to be taught to nurse, but merely needs to be put into contact with its mother's breast. While subject to instruction and direction, the same impulse operates thruout life in the effort to obtain food; in the early history of man it results in the gathering of roots, fruits, nuts, and shellfish, and later in the instinct to hunt and fish, which man shares with the animals. This

¹Ellwood, Charles A., "*Sociology in its Psychological Aspects*", Chap. IX. "*Introduction to Social Psychology*", Chaps. IX-XI.

²McDougall, William, "*An Introduction to Social Psychology*", also "*Mind and Body*".

impulse is sharpened by the pangs of hunger and encouraged by the physical satisfaction given by the consumption of food. It is purely an animal instinct, altho with man it is under greater control and direction by the intellect than with the animals. With further development it takes the form of impulse to work, as we know the term, the production of things which satisfy human wants. Thus it is at the basis of the food interest of man and to a large extent of the motives that prompt our economic and industrial activity. It also leads to storing of food and thus stimulates invention; on the other hand it produces perversities such as stealing, begging, and the exploitation of others by means of slavery, serfdom, low wages, and similar means.

Reproductive Instinct. — This is another impulse that man has in common with his animal neighbors, the instinct to continue the race; it is stronger in the male than in the female. Coupled with this is the whole matter of sex attraction and sex interest. It is the basis of sexual love, which led in early days to the formation of the family and the institution of marriage. Thus it is fundamental to some of the most important traits of man, such as parental love, which increases in strength as civilization advances. Family affection and ties of kinship are also outgrowths of the reproductive instinct, including the care of aged parents and of weaker members of the family. From the care of the children develops sympathy, which is the basis of altruism. While animals, noticeably the higher animals, have affection for the offspring, exhibited especially by the mother, it dies out much quicker than with man and is generally limited in time to the period ending with the arrival of the next young. The lower we go in the animal scale the larger we find the number of offspring to be, as a rule, and the greater the decrease of this impulse; so it is only natural that man, who has fewer offsprings than almost any animal, should exhibit this impulse in a stronger manner than the animals. The reproductive instinct in itself is not as regular and is under greater control with man than with the animals because of man's superior intellect and powers of control. By means of conscious direction and control this instinct of man has led to the development of man's loftiest impulses and to the moulding of some of his greatest and most uplifting institutions and achievements.

Instinct of Self-Preservation. — The food, reproductive, and self-preservatory impulses may be called the primary impulses of man, being common with both man and animals. This third instinct is an instinct of man to avoid danger, either to fly from its presence or to keep out of its reach. This has been necessary for man's very existence, especially in the infancy of the race, when man was poorly equipped to combat with the dangers besetting him. The child must also have it in order to live when outside the protection of its parents. It causes fear or terror at sight of danger, flight or concealment from that danger, and later the knack of keeping out of its way. Man is equipped with nerves which warn him thru pain of danger to his body, such as danger from cold, excessive heat, bruising or tearing of the body; and the mind is equipped with memory to tell him to avoid these dangers in the future. Man's sense impressions, while in many ways inferior to those of animals, are guides to him, thus enabling him to see, hear, smell, or taste approaching danger. The child exhibits this instinct of fear in the presence of the unfamiliar or unusual, often indeed when its intelligence tells it that there is no real danger. The instinct of fear haunts man, and while it often saves his life it prevents him at times from achieving what he otherwise might accomplish; because of this it is an impulse that man wishes to conceal or overcome. With the greater protection afforded by society its use of course diminishes. Another form of the instinct for self-preservation is the desire to defend oneself against danger and attack. This instinct has been one of the motive forces of invention; akin to it is our next class of instincts.

Instinct of Pugnacity and Resentment. — This instinct is not so universal as that of fear, being in fact quite weak among females of some species; it is much stronger in some people than in others, and is generally much more pronounced among males than females. While the instinct for fighting is used for defense, it also prompts offense and even oppression of others. Its use is strengthened by other instincts, such as that of acquisition; but it is the direct inspiration to warfare and conquest, for without it these would be very difficult. By means of it the strongest have survived and the best elements have been preserved, and races having it more than others have advanced and progressed, while those lacking it have been exterminated or overrun. The impulse of resentment comes into evidence when any attempt is made

upon the rights of a person; the one injured or molested shows his resentment in the emotion of anger. Without the spirit of pugnacity or resentment anger would be impossible. Both of these are closely akin to self-defense and all go hand in hand. As society progresses, we control the emotions of anger more and more, priding ourselves upon our control rather than upon our resentment; but this instinct has been very useful to man, altho when allowed to run to excess without restraint it has been the cause of endless injustices, misery, and destruction. When properly curbed, it is a very useful asset to man; in fact without it one is destined to serve rather than to lead.

Closely connected and possibly belonging to the same class of instincts are pugnacity and resentment are those of *rivalry* and *emulation*, which are coming into much greater development and use; they work towards achieving much the same results that anger and fighting produce. The sentiment of jealousy is related to that of resentment, generally carrying with it some recognition of weakness or admission that some one else has or is enjoying something which is desired for one's self, whether it be the caress given the child, a piece of candy, or the beautiful wife of another. It is a feeling of resentment against the success of another person. While generally condemned and as far as possible held in restraint, it too, is often a mainspring of action. It is frequently the motive of injustice and crime.

Instinct of Sociability.—In spite of his tendency to fight and notwithstanding the influence of his struggles upon the progress of civilization man has an innate craving for companionship. So strong is it that Professor Giddings has an extremely complicated and interesting system of sociology upon this one tendency of man. Not only is one person attracted to another, but he is attracted especially by the same kind of person. This impulse was important in the early history of man for the sake of protection and of making a living. As we shall find in our next chapter, the sociability interest is also strong in society today and is the basis of much of our companionship. Few of us care to be alone for any length of time; we crave companionship, we want some one to whom we may communicate our feelings, thots, and desires. This gregarious impulse is interwoven with many of our activities. It is one of the factors in the growth of cities and in the formation of groups. Out of it develops

loyalty to the group, which results in the spirit of patriotism. Love of the praise or approval of others is a phase of it. Desire to show off or attract attention is simply a part of this instinct or group of instincts. While not the most fundamental instinct, it is one of the most important factors in the life of society.

Instinct of Possession. — Another innate tendency or impulse of man is to possess objects which are useful to him, objects that he desires. This probably manifested itself first in the possession of or claim to a mate. Later it developed in regard to weapons, tools, and all other forms of wealth as soon as they were introduced. This is an instinct which has played a powerful role in the history of mankind, one which has caused wars, migrations, invasions; it has caused man to labor and to compel others to labor for him; it has built up industry; it has in fact entered into every part of man's existence. It is of course generally coupled with other impulses, such as the food instinct, and as a social factor frequently is supplemented by other desires.

Instinct of Construction. — Every child wants to build or make something. With his blocks he constructs buildings, roads, towers, and bridges. With dirt he makes mud pies and with sticks he devises playthings. The Kaffir child of four will make intricate bird traps. In short, it is an innate impulse of man to want to make things. It is this instinct which has underlay invention; the need of something, joined with the impulse to make, caused the invention to be achieved, not suddenly, of course, but gradually thru various steps.

Instinct of Imitation. — As soon as man sees something which he considers good, he immediately starts to imitate it, whether it be language, a weapon, a method of cooking, a trick in hunting or fishing, a tool, a strategy in war, an article of ornament, a dance, a song, a religious belief, a form of government, or in fact any achievement or institution whatever. The child shows this impulse as soon as it is capable of appreciating the desirability of things. So strong is this impulse that Professor Tarde attempted to build a whole system of sociology upon it, in much the same manner that Professor Giddings did in regard to the sociability instinct. While without question a strong impulse, it is by no means the key to all social activity.

Instincts of Self-Assertion and Self-Abasement. — Both of these instincts are easily noticed in the animal world, the

male strutting around showing off his plumage or marks of physical adornment, and the larger, more powerful, and better formed animal showing off before his mates. The smaller and weaker one has the opposite impulse and slinks away, trying to avoid observation, and thus is expressive of self-abasement or recognition of the superiority of another. The child exhibits the same impulses. As soon as the baby acquires a new art or trick, such as walking, or jumping over some little object, it desires the approbation of others and is displeased if this is not shown. As it grows older, it shows this trait when it calls to its playmates to "see it do this or that". Pride is a strong factor in life; it is the cause of boasting and vanity; the impulse motivates to a large extent, the wearing of fashionable clothing and ornament, whether it be a silk dress or a bark loin cloth, a pearl necklace or a brass nose ring. It is the instinct of pride which causes some people to assume an air of superiority, whether there is any ground for it or not. It is the opposite instinct that causes others to exhibit an attitude of deference to those regarded as their superiors. The child displays this same tendency, shrinking from a stranger even when it does not fear the person. In this impulse we may find the rudiments of shame, which, however, is not considered an innate tendency, but one which is developed. These two instincts are ones which man never outlives; they are found in all ages, situations, and conditions of life. While minor factors, they are instincts which have played their part in man's development. Closely akin to them are the instincts of *repulsion* and *disgust*, which are aroused by the sight of a snake or anything that is considered loathsome. These are the opposites to the impulse of sociability.

Other instincts might be mentioned, such as the instincts of *wonder* and *curiosity*, which cause man to attempt to find out things and thus lead him to acquire information and knowledge.

Play. — While hardly an instinct, play must be treated as a native tendency of the mind which performs an important function in the social life of man. Many people have attempted to explain play by means of some single theory, but like most phases of social activity it has more than one origin and explanation. Schiller ascribed play to the expression of one's surplus energy. While undoubtedly a cause or explanation of a great deal of play, especially of young children, we cannot give this theory the importance placed upon

it by Herbert Spencer. It is true that a person is most inclined to play when well nourished and free from exhaustion, but the same person may play until utterly exhausted, as in a foot game or a tennis match. Others try to show that in his play the child retraces the periods passed thru by his ancestors, engaging in games of hunting, playing with animals, etc., thus representing the different stages of progress. This theory is not accepted today. Groos¹ put forward a theory that play acted as a preparation for the serious business of life, that the kitten chases the ball over the floor, thus preparing for the more serious chasing of the mouse in later life; that the child in his play prepares itself for the work of life, imitating the occupation of adults, the girl playing with dolls, making mud pies, and imitating the work of her mother, and the boy imitating that of his father by playing horse, building houses, etc. While this undoubtedly is a valid explanation of a great deal of play during early youth, when the child is under the impulse to imitate its elders, it does not explain all play. It does not take into consideration the elements of emulation and rivalry, which play such an important part in our modern games, like baseball, tennis, basketball, hockey, and football; or such sports as boxing, wrestling, running, and swimming; or even such quiet games as chess, checkers, and cards. In fact the motives are too complex and varied to be explained by any one theory, and furthermore no real line can be drawn between work and play. To many their occupation is simply a game, and the spirit of emulation and rivalry is as strong as on the athletic field. The spirit of play is much more highly developed among some peoples than among others, being very extensively cultivated among the European races; of these peoples the English and their descendants take the lead. The Orientals cannot see how Europeans or Americans will use so much exertion upon the tennis court, football field, or baseball diamond, asking if it would not be possible to get coolies to do that work. The spirit of play can, however, be developed, for the Chinese and Japanese are rapidly adopting our games, especially baseball and tennis. Play gives a chance to exercise the primitive instincts and motives, and to develop individuality. In past times this impulse was discouraged, but today we are almost going to the opposite extreme by giving it at times too great a freedom. It does afford an excellent opportunity

¹Groos, Karl, "*Play of Animals*" and "*The Play of Man*".

to train the child and to develop those qualities needed so much in life, such as self-control and sportsmanship, as well as to build up a physique for life's battles. The child who cannot play, being deprived of playmates or opportunity to exercise this innate tendency, is sorely handicapped for life. So important is the spirit of play that it is being incorporated more and more into our school systems, its educational values being almost unlimited. It is one of those normal tendencies which must be directed and controlled; if wisely handled, it is one of the most important gifts with which man has been endowed.

While instincts are present as motive forces in practically all human beings, they differ greatly in degree, some being much stronger in one individual than in another. This is one of the causes of the greater ability and success of certain persons in comparison with that of others. They differ also between the sexes: the female, being endowed with stronger sympathetic, and social impulses, is more emotional and is guided more by instinct and emotion than is the male; on the other hand, the male has the combative or pugnacious impulse to a much higher degree than the female. Sometimes the male is referred to as being katabolic, or inclined to expend energy, being more active; while the female is anabolic, or inclined to store up energy, liking to be passive and conservative. While we must recognize this as an innate difference, we must remember also that social conditions have increased it. Society has hedged woman about with restrictions, and she therefore has not had an equal chance with man for development, especially with regard to physique and accomplishments. Woman's inferior physique today is to a great extent the result of social conditions, for custom and habit have prevented her from developing her muscles; her activity has been restricted by skirts, corsets, and high-heeled shoes, and her health has often been ruined by disregard of the rules of health. Yet while neither sex can be said to be superior mentally, there is undoubtedly an innate difference between the male and the female, altho not to such a marked degree as in the case of the physical difference. As we have pointed out in another chapter, we cannot claim mental superiority for one race over another; the difference is a matter of individuals and not of races. Similarly while the sexes differ in the proportion of the differ-

ent innate characteristics possessed we cannot claim superiority for either sex.

Altho instincts were more important with primitive man than with civilized man (because civilization is able to train and educate man, so that he is less dependent upon innate impulses), they cannot be ignored in an analysis of present-day society. But under modern conditions they alone are not safe guides; they must be supplemented and controlled by reason and intelligence. While education does not supplant them, it enlarges them and increases their usefulness. Ellwood sums up their usefulness as follows:¹

"The native impulses are, then, from the psychological point of view the basis of man's social life. Representing the innate or the biological element in the relationships of individuals, they are necessarily the raw material out of which the social life is developed. They are the psychological expression of the biological forces of selection and heredity as these latter well up in the social life at any particular moment. While they furnish only the beginnings of social organization, that is, only certain simpler co-ordinations between individuals, it is their modification by feeling and intelligence, functioning with respect to environment, which produces the acquired habits out of which all higher forms of social co-ordination and social organization must issue. Concealed beneath these acquired modes of behavior or conduct in the individual and in society, behind them all, are always the various instinctive impulses. As they represent the original motor activities, they may well be characterized, therefore, as the real propelling forces of society, since the feelings and emotions, as have been already pointed out, do not lie behind these activities but rather accompany them. The physiological impulses, then, which when viewed from the psychological side, we term instincts, are the true primary forces of human society, the ultimate springs of all activity; and the guidance and control thru the education of the individual and the organization of social relationships between individuals, that is, their control thru reason, is the ultimate practical problem of human social life."

Feeling.—Feeling is another element of human nature which has been either neglected or exaggerated by the sociologist. It is closely allied with instinct and forms a sort of connecting link between instinct and intellect. It is shared, altho in differing degrees, by both man and animals. Professor Ward² treats feeling as the dynamic agent of society, showing that it resulted from life and that intellect developed from feeling. He postulates that feeling was the true propelling forces for both animals and man. He placed however a very broad interpretation upon feeling, treating it as iden-

¹Ellwood, Charles A., "*Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects*", pp. 245-6.

²Ward, Lester F., "*Pure Sociology*", Chap. VI.

tical with desire, as embracing all wants, volitions, and aspirations. In short, he treats feeling as synonymous with desire—an interpretation that is entirely too broad. Feelings are sometimes called the emotional side of instinct and it is with this emotional conception of feeling that sociology is particularly interested. Man is more or less an emotional creature. He is subject to and affected constantly in his everyday actions by such emotions as joy, envy, admiration, gratitude, reverence, loathing, scorn, reproach, jealousy, revenge, shame, bashfulness, pity, happiness, and sorrow. While feeling is not the primary factor or the chief end in life, it is an element which must be considered and recognized as affecting human action. It is discussed by Professor Ellwood as follows:¹

"Feeling is, then, a powerful factor in determining the coadaptation of individuals to one another in society. Feeling attitudes of individuals towards each other not only express the relation of their habitual activities, but also continually modify these activities. While in the main feeling is a somewhat conservative and passive influence in society, yet on account of its subjective and individual character it continually brings to bear an individualizing influence upon all social activities. Feeling is, therefore, an active as well as a passive factor in the social life. On the individual side it is continually modifying activity, both in conscious and unconscious ways. Feeling must, therefore be taken into account, not only in any theoretical interpretation of the social life, but in all practical measures for modifying or controlling social activities. While not a primary force in society, feeling presents itself as an important secondary force."

Intellect.—It is the possession of intellect which has been the determining factor in man's progress as compared with his animal neighbors. We find that the members of the animal world are equipped with instincts and feeling, altho in a manner slightly different from that of man. Animals are likewise equipped with the senses, keener for the most part than those of man, and many of the animals excel him in strength and speed. But when it comes to intellect he stands alone, and it is because of this attribute that he has conquered nature and has changed his environment instead of allowing himself to be changed by it. Intellect plays the deciding role in the battle of life. Professor Ward attempts to show how intellect developed from feeling; but the matter of origin is outside the field of sociology, for many possessed intellect long before sociology takes up the study of him and

¹Ellwood, Charles A., "*Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects*", p. 259.

his institutions. The earliest men that we can locate were fully equipped with intellectual powers. It is intellect that guides and directs the feelings and instincts, for without it they are not capable of lifting man above the animal world. The key to man's behavior does not lie in his environment, but in his mental makeup. It is intellect that puts values upon activities and then determines actions. How this decision is made depends of course upon what the intellect considers of the greatest value. It carries out the suggestions of the instincts and satisfies the cravings of the feelings, but it also modifies and at times even vetoes their suggestions. It is to the intellect that both instincts and feelings go for commands. But because it generally listens to instinct and feeling thoughts and ideas are of course colored and influenced by them.

Invention and discovery are made possible by intellect, for it is intellect that sees the need and the opportunity and brings them together. Without intellect material progress would have been impossible and man would have remained an animal among animals, provided he did not become exterminated. Civilization has simply been the accumulation of ideas, the piling up of inventions and discoveries, and the passing on to future generations of the wisdom of the past. An idea is precious and new ideas are rare things; it is very seldom that a new idea or invention is added to civilization. In general we only imitate or repeat the past experience, slowly improving upon it by adding a bit here and a bit there. Most of the things that we learn are really discoveries of the past, and it is very seldom that we are able to add to this mass of experiences; but it is in this way that progress is made. Social ideals are also the results of intellect, being the valuations placed by intellect upon acts or activities of mankind.

We have taken up in this chapter, as a starting point in our analysis of society, the study of man's social equipment; this was to enable us the better to analyze man's actions and the workings of society. It will also give us an introduction to our study of the interests of society and the forces and institutions that control society. In this we have made no attempt to go into the psychology or the biology of these matters; we have merely taken them as we found them, and we shall use these facts only to help explain society.

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CHAPTER XVI

SOCIAL INTERESTS

By social interests we mean the stimuli which cause people to act. We do certain things; we get up in the morning, dress, eat breakfast, and rush to our work at the office, store, or factory; with the exception of a lunch hour we work all day; we come home at night, eat dinner, and spend the evening at home in reading, playing cards, or just resting or perhaps by going to the moving picture show, theatre or opera according to our likes and means. On Saturday afternoon we may go to the ball game, and on Sunday drive to the park or to church in the morning and sleep or go to the ball game in the afternoon. Why do we such things? Why do we go to the theatre or to the ball game? Why do we eat three times a day and sleep eight hours a night? Why do we spend so many years in the school room, often to the detriment of our health? Why do we risk life and limb in dangerous sports like polo or football? Why do we spend our lives working to buy houses, clothes, food, theatre tickets, flowers, books, magazines, automobiles, or yachts, when we could get along and live just as long without most of these things? Why will we spend our life-times in building up industries, fortunes, or institutions, which we ourselves seldom have time to enjoy? Why will we spend our lives writing books which nobody will read, or working in the laboratory making experiments the results of which nobody cares about, or teaching in college theories which will be of little practical value to anyone? We do such things because we want to. But why do we want to? Because there are interests in society which stimulates us to do them. It is with such stimuli that this chapter will deal.

Many of these stimuli or interests like the desire for food, grow directly out of our instinctive impulses, but many of them, such as the desire to see a ball game or to go to the opera, are artificially created by society, altho these interests may be indirect outgrowths of instinctive impulses. The intel-

lect plays its part in shaping these interests, modifying and adapting the instinctive impulses. Many sociologists do not distinguish between social forces and social interests, but treat them all together, either under one heading or the other. But social forces include the influences, such as the geographical environment, which help or hinder man in his pursuits; and the laws of heredity, which limit his achievements and determine his environment, healthful or unhealthful, in society itself, *e. g.*, home influences, religious control, and housing conditions. Forces may be either external or internal, objective or subjective; while interests are more subjective, or within one's direction. In previous chapters we have considered the influence of physical forces upon population; now we take up the interests that prompt man to act. In our next chapter we shall consider the control of man by means of the institutions created by him. These institutions develop directly thru the interests in much the same way that the interests are the results of the instincts, feelings, and intellect. Altho we act as a rule without stopping to reason out why we act, we shall attempt to analyze and study these actions.

Many sociologists have tried to classify and arrange the forces or interests in more or less definite tables, with varying degrees of success.¹ While all these classifications are extremely suggestive and worthy of study, no one arrangement is wholly satisfactory. The simplest and possibly the most suggestive, altho at the same time probably the most severely criticized, is that of Professor Small, who classifies interests under the headings of health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, and rightness. But such a classification will of course not include all interests of society. In this work interests will be arranged according to groups, not

¹The most important of these classifications are those of Ward, treated as social forces, found in *"Pure Sociology"*, p. 261; Ratzenhofer, treated as interests, found in *"Sociologische Erkenntnis"*, pp. 54-66, and Small's *"General Sociology"*, p. 252; Stuckenberg, found in *"Sociology"*, Vol. I, p. 207; Small, treated as interests, discussed in *"General Sociology"*, pp. 443-467, and *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VI, pp. 177-199; Ross, treated as social forces, in *"Foundations of Sociology"*, p. 169; and latest (and because of that the best) given by Blackmar and Gillin, treated as forces, in *"Outlines of Sociology"*, pp. 287-288. Blackmar and Gillin also give in Part III, Chap. II, of this same book these other classifications. They are omitted from this volume because of the lack of space and because the average student finds so many classifications more confusing than instructive. So in this text use will be made of all these schemes and no attempt will be made to classify the social forces for the simple reason that no really satisfactory classification can be made. The interests are too complex and too intricately interwoven to allow separation and arbitrary arrangement.

because the arrangement given shows the order of importance or is the only means of arrangement, but simply because some kind of method has to be adopted. No attempt will be made to include all social interests or to show the various relationships of all of these interests. The aim will be to aid the student to obtain a grasp of the matter and to be as suggestive as possible without becoming technical or philosophical.

Physical Interests. — Under instinct we discussed the food impulse and the instincts for self-preservation. Out of these impulses have grown the physical interests. The desire for food and drink is one of the chief interests of man. This means not only sufficient food and water to supply the body; the interest has been developed until the appetite demands foods, which are well seasoned, carefully prepared, and possessed of peculiar tastes. It has even taken extravagant forms, demanding unusual and expensive dishes, such as the extreme forms of the days of the old Roman banquets, when peacocks' brains and nightingales' tongues were in demand and when the depths of the sea and the corners of the earth were searched for rare and peculiar foods. This has also taken abnormal turns, such as the cravings for intoxicants and drugs, and has gone to such an extreme that the average American family formerly spent annually nearly \$100.00 on liquor alone. The demand for drink has passed from that of water to that for drinks which have pleasing tastes, such as tea, coffee, chocolate, lemonade, limeade, and the various concoctions furnished by the soda fountain and the saloon.

The demand for clothing arises in large part because of physical interest, altho clothing was adopted for the sake of ornament and is still to a great extent worn for that purpose. But with modern society clothing is absolutely essential, especially in our northern climates. The desire for shelter is much the same, altho in a modern house we demand far more than mere healthful shelter, requiring beauty, congenial location, and convenience.

Aversion to pain, love of warmth, desire of ease of body, as well as the demand for safety from physical injury, are other examples of physical interests. Craving for exercise is to a large extent a direct result of the health interest. Desire for sensuous pleasure also is included under physical

interests. In short, the group of interests comprises all interests leading to the satisfaction of any bodily demand.

Economic Interests. — While of minor importance under primitive conditions, this class of interests is perhaps today the strongest set of interests prompting man to activity. Under this heading comes any interest leading to the production or accumulation of wealth. It is closely connected and at times inseparable from physical interests, for wealth is produced in order to satisfy human demands, many of which are physical. Man works for a wage because that wage will procure him what he wants. He accumulates property so as not to be in want in the future; yet those who build up and organize industry seldom are required to do it merely in order to supply their physical needs. Industry is founded upon other pillars than physical need; rivalry, love of ostentation, instinct of workmanship, etc. Sociology has no use for the conception of the "economic man" of the classical economists. Sociology recognizes that man strives for wealth as a means, in order to gain control, achieve prestige, win a wife, buy a title, or gain the applause of his fellows; or for the mere sake of the game as well as for the satisfaction of his physical needs. Wealth is, in brief, the means of satisfying other interests. Yet it does not destroy the validity of the economic interest that it cannot be separated from the other interests or that, acting as a means rather than as an end, it leads to them. Man labors in order to produce, exchange, distribute, and consume wealth. This wealth may bring him the power of satisfying desires for influence in society, power over rivals, books, art treasures, travel, music, or sensual pleasure. He may not take advantage of these things, but wealth to him is the representation of them. For the sake of wealth men toil and deny themselves the satisfaction of other interests; they organize their lives for this purpose and for meeting the demands of the wealth-getting process. They may do this for their own wealth interest or may by the organization of society be compelled to do it for the benefit of someone else. With primitive man this interest was not so strong, the other more direct interests, particularly the physical, taking precedence over it; but as the satisfaction of wants becomes more indirect and as the indirect and as consumption of goods is postponed thru the increase in the number of steps in the production and distribution of wealth, the wealth interest becomes stronger, until

under our present capitalistic organization it is probably the strongest interest in society.

Sociability Interests. — The sociability instinct of man has continued thruout history and has permeated every branch of human society. Man cannot live a Robinson Crusoe existence; he has to have companionship. In order to obtain it he will deny himself the satisfaction of other interests, accepting smaller pay, enduring privation, and even suffering hardship. Solitary confinement is one of the worst punishments, and even temporary absence from friends and relatives is considered a hardship. One craves not merely companionship, but also congenial companionship, the association of kindred spirits. While there are many exceptions, it is the general tendency for each member of society to seek out and mingle with others of like character, temperament, ability, and training. This is not always possible, but such is the desire and effort of each person. We want to associate with others of our kind. We see this principle illustrated by the exclusiveness of the members of so-called society in their efforts to exclude those whom they consider unfit, especially financially, to be one of their set. We find the same sentiment in the college fraternity, the club, the fraternal order, and even — sad to say — too often in some of the churches. If we watch any large gathering where there is freedom of movement, we shall quickly notice the drifting together of those having like interests and desires — unconscious perhaps, but inevitable. This interest is so strong in society that Professor Giddings built around it a whole system of sociology. We find that this interest has been a strong factor in history, kindred spirits founding colonies, after the order of Plymouth, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, and founding model communities, such as Brook Farm, Arcadia, the Oneida Community, and the various Shaker communities. We find them engaging in piratical expeditions, and in warlike campaigns of conquest or discovery, starting revolutions, establishing governments, founding religions, going in fact into all the varied activities of life. If we took away from society this craving for companionship, life would be devoid of much of its charm. Man desires the sympathy of his fellows; he has to satisfy his pride and vanity. To gratify his love of power and glory he must have companions to witness the achievement. This is not the only factor or even the chief interest in society,

the sociability interest is one of the most important and must be prominently included in a study of any undertaking.

Recreation Interests. — Chiefly connected, often inextricably with the sociability interests are the recreational interests. The play impulse craves satisfaction. The demand for muscular activity, for rest from labor, for expression of emotions — all find their achievement in the recreation interests. Not only the child but even the adult craves recreation. In America recreation generally takes the form of team play, for which several participants are necessary and the number of onlookers is often limited only by the seating capacity. Our great football games draw thousands; in fact stadiums and amphitheatres cannot be constructed large enough to satisfy the demand in some places. At important games our baseball parks are crowded and people have been known to stand in line all night so as to insure themselves good seats at some of our championship games between the two leading professional leagues. Theatres are often sold out for weeks in advance of popular performances. The moving picture business has sprung up with wonderful rapidity, simply in response to the demand for cheap amusement. Games provide fellowship as well as furnish rest and relaxation. Ideas of recreation differ among races; the English and Americans as a rule take their recreation violently in active energetic sports; the Oriental takes his in repose and meditation. It is hard to draw the line between recreational interests and artistic interests, dancing, singing, and many games being on the borderland between them. Recreation is also vitally connected with other interests, for the economic motive functions in many of our sports and actually controls some, such as organized baseball and the professional sports in general. To many, engaging in sports is an occupation; among these are the professional boxer, wrestler, and baseball player. Teaching games is a profession, in fact a very well paid profession. Many people mingle pleasure with work, some taking keen pleasure in their work. The negro, for example, is never a good workman until he gets himself into the right emotional attitude; the successful employers of negro labor always see to it that they have some workers who are good singers; these they induce to lead lively tunes. In this way they manage to have the work done much more rapidly. If one can fall in love with his work and treat it as a game, he will not only enjoy it more but will as a rule be far more suc-

cessful in it than if he looked upon it as a task to be done. If he can combine work with the proper amount of recreation, he can accomplish work of a much higher order than if he took no recreation. While often slighted and sometimes allowed too great liberty, the play interest is a valid one, and when held under the proper control is a great aid to man. Sports, especially those where courage and daring are required, teach courage and a spirit of fair play. They also quicken the eye and the memory, train the muscles to accuracy and quickness of movement, and if properly conducted fit man for usefulness in society, in addition to satisfying the craving for amusement. This interest is perfectly normal and worthy and should be encouraged and regulated.

Religious Interests. — In our earlier chapter on 'Religion and Ethics we studied the development of religion, tracing the various steps in its evolution. In our next chapter we shall again consider religion, this time as an element of social control. So all we shall do here is to mention this class of interests; but religious interests must be included among social interests, for they enter into every phase of our life, supplying motives of action or restraint, generally the latter. Everybody has some sort of religious nature and is affected by it, even tho he try to subdue or kill it. While this interest is to a certain extent innate, it is largely the result of cultivation. As the conception of religion becomes loftier this interest changes in a corresponding manner. Closely connected and interwoven with the religious interests are *ethical* and *altruistic* interests. They supply motives which are less sordid than physical and economic motives. While man is probably innately selfish, he has some ideas of rightness and justice and wants to see fair play. He may not be so anxious to give the other fellow fair play as he is to have the other fellow give it to him, and he is much more eager to compel others to observe it than he is for them to compel him to practice it. But nevertheless there is the altruistic tendency, which has been steadily growing as civilization has been advancing. The world has gradually thrown off the shackles of inequality: freeing the slave, elevating the serf, destroying the absolutism of rulers or limiting their powers, extending the right of self-government to more and more people, allowing women constantly greater freedom, changing the form of law from the arbitrary command of one or a few to the mature opinion of many, and substituting milder and

more just forms of punishment of crime for the harsh and prejudiced decisions of those in power. Because of the rise of ethical and altruistic sentiments religion has grown purer and loftier. The altruistic sentiment, not being an innate characteristic at all, has been developed out of sympathy. There is a growing sentiment in favor of caring for others. Formerly we looked with indifference at the suffering of others, provided they were not related to us or connected with us by ties of friendship, but now we draw no lines. The great war conditions presented an illustration of this fact; the neutral nations not only sent vast sums to care for the orphaned, crippled, and needy of the warring nations, but furnished hospitals, nurses, and doctors, often at great sacrifices, in order to relieve the suffering of those in distress. If a famine is caused in India by the failure of a crop, or if an earthquake or volcanic eruption destroys the means of living in some one of the islands of the Atlantic or Pacific, food pours in from all sections of the earth. Distress in China is relieved even if those administering help are called "foreign devils" and are in peril for their very lives. The Americans have repeatedly tried to relieve the sufferings of the Mexican people during the past decade, altho at the same time bands of Mexicans were destroying all the property belonging to Americans that they could lay their hands on and even killing the Americans who fell into their power. The American government even endured insult after insult and yet did its best to straighten out chaos in Mexico and to give the people a stable form of government, when at the same time the Mexicans were too low in the ethical scale even to appreciate the meaning of such a policy and thru ignorance were doing their best to bite the hand that was trying to help them. This altruistic sentiment has affected the policies of other governments as well, being especially reflected in the policy of England toward her dependents, South Africa furnishing the best example. After conquering that country the English gave the Boers better government and more real independence and freedom than they had enjoyed before, allowing even the election of the commander-in-chief of the Boer army to the presidency of the new republic, which embraced all of English South Africa. The Boers, however, showed their ability to appreciate such treatment and remained loyal to England in her time of dis-

tress during the World War, thus proving the worth of such a policy.

Formerly we took the attitude of isolation in regard to the misery of the lower classes, but now we try not only to relieve suffering but also to prevent its repetition. We attempt, not to keep free from contamination, but to grapple with the problem and relieve the distress. Instead of keeping clear from diseases we try to find the cures for them; scientists even risk and oftentimes lose their lives in order to find the cures for such scourges as yellow fever, leprosy, the bubonic plague, spotted fever, and tetanus. Reformers throw their whole souls into the work of wiping out such evils as the liquor traffic, opium habit, graft in politics, and child labor, altho personally they are not injured by such evils. People with comfortable incomes fight for minimum wage legislation; those who work short hours, for an eight-hour day; those who have not gone to jail, for the reform of our prison systems; those who live in comfortable homes, for building codes and housing reforms; those who do not work in factories, for protection against dangerous machinery and for sanitary and hygienic factories. Missionaries go to foreign fields to labor there for a salary of \$600.00 to \$1000.00 a year, when they could command several times that at home. Others give their lives to the elevation of the lower classes and the relief of distress at home. All these illustrations go to show the increase of altruistic motives and the importance of these interests in society. We may expect this group of interests to become stronger and stronger as civilization advances.

Political Interests. — Like the economic interests the political interests are often merely the outgrowths of other interests. The rule once was that of the strong arm; early political organization was a means of enforcing the authority of a few. Later it became the means of giving justice to many. But even today the government is frequently made to be a means of satisfying the selfish desires of individuals. It is asserted that the Constitution of the United States was written by the capitalist class, who consciously or unconsciously framed it so as to protect their interests. One of the chief purposes of government is to protect the citizens of the state, and in this way it is an outgrowth of the instincts for protection and self-defense. It is the means of enforcing and administering justice, of preserving and protecting the

economic interests. The state protects property and regulates its exchange and administration, and often political interests are merely for the sake of carrying out economic interests. It is the means of protecting the individual against violence and unhealthful conditions, and thus it accomplishes the furthering of the physical or health interests. It is a means of enlarging the altruistic or humanitarian interests thru care of the poor, sick, defective, and dependent classes. Yet like the economic interests the political interests have a distinct field of their own, politics being separate from family life, religious activities, commerce, and industry. Politics is a profession; it is also an avocation for many who do not follow it as a means of livelihood. In every well organized state where there is a universal or partial suffrage, there are developed political parties, each standing for certain more or less definite purposes, such as policies of international trade, regulation of industries, or institutions. These parties have their rise, development, and decline, and are supplanted by others. In a country like the United States party lines are so well drawn and parties are so well organized that every person is supposed to have, and generally does have, some party affiliation, and in many places this affiliation is so hard and fast that he will support his party regardless of right or wrong, or of the merit of the question in dispute.

Such conditions are regrettable, and in fact they are slowly breaking up, political organization being gradually looked upon as a means to an end, rather than as an end in itself. Yet the political interest, especially in a country which is governed more or less by the popular vote, is one which enters into the daily life of almost every citizen and therefore cannot be neglected, even if associated with it are other interests.

Esthetic or Artistic Interests. — Almost as far back as we can trace the history of man we find the esthetic or artistic interests at work in some form or other, first in personal adornment or decoration and later in the decorations of tools, weapons, huts, and articles of use. Professor Ward has even traced the development of these interests from animal decoration, such as the fine plumage of birds and the natural decoration of animals, as illustrated by the mane of the lion, the stripes of the tiger, and the natural ornaments of the other animals, all generally used as means of sex attraction. Man adopted clothing for this purpose; and he has incorporated the desire for decoration into every phase of his varied life.

It is closely akin to the recreation interests, for both enter into many activities, like the dance or the drama. It is also interwoven with religion, which has employed as an aid to religious development, in the way of beautiful temples, cathedrals, vestments, and ceremonies of worship. Religion has always made use of music (even at times of dancing), as well as of architecture, painting, and sculpture. On the other hand, religion has given art its greatest inspirations; the most lofty poems and the best paintings and pieces of sculpture are the results of religious inspirations. The finest statues that the world has known have been the endeavors of the Greeks to represent their divinities, and the finest paintings have resulted from the efforts of artists to depict religious scenes, among which are the Madonas, the *Last Supper*, and *Christ Before Pilate*; and the finest pieces of architecture have been cathedrals and temples, such as the Temple of Solomon, the Taj Mahal, and the cathedrals of Europe. At times art and religion have collaborated; at other times religion has restrained and controlled art. With the progress of society artistic interests have separated into the interests represented by the various divisions of art, as music, painting, sculpture, and architecture. These esthetic interests take various forms among different races; things that appear beautiful to one race may not appeal to the taste of another. Ideas of physical beauty are unlike among different peoples; the Hottentots, for example, consider fatness a sign of beauty and as a rule select for the belles the fattest girls in the tribe; with other peoples suppleness and gracefulness of form are the qualities desired. To a Kaffir child a thing is beautiful if it is good to eat. In clothing the most of us desire beauty, even before warmth, altho our ideas of beauty are sometimes perplexing and change from year to year. We even desire our food to be served in a manner pleasing to the eye. Furniture must be beautiful as well as useful. As leisure time increases and as man has more opportunities to gratify his esthetic desires, the esthetic interests in society become more pronounced; therefore we may anticipate a constant increase in the importance of these interests.

Intellectual Interests. — Another group of interests, which have been artificially developed by society, is composed of the interests represented by knowledge, culture, and refinement. The knowledge interest is a direct result of the activity of the intellect. When man began life, he was confronted

with facts of nature which he did not understand and which he could not interpret. As a result he feared nature; but after the immediate danger was over he began to ponder and to think upon the why and wherefore of things; he began to investigate and to discover causes. He found joy in this process like that the child feels upon finding out things; pleasure resulted from the satisfying of the feeling of curiosity. This interest entered into religion and magic and into the economic life. As soon as man would find out anything he would pass it on to others. At first this was a slow, difficult, and uncertain process, but with the invention of an alphabet and printing it was made easier. While utility was the incentive to find out things, the very finding itself was pleasant and gave a satisfaction all its own. In fact the working of puzzles has always been an important amusement, and many of our games, like chess, checkers, and solitaire have as their chief element this characteristic. We like to do things simply to be able to do them. The spirit of emulation comes in too; we are ashamed not to know something which someone else knows. Many people read books simply to be able to say that they have read them or for fear of being considered ignorant if they have not done so. Much of our education brings us little practical utility. We often study merely to learn things, knowing that we may make no practical use of our knowledge. We often learn arts like playing the piano or violin, or singing, for the sole purpose of being able to perform, because we consider it a mark of refinement to know these arts. It is knowledge that has given man his victory over nature, for without this product of intellect man would still be little better than the animals. Knowledge is necessary for the battle with life. In our present society some knowledge is absolutely essential for life itself. Knowledge is a means of maintaining the standard of life and one's position in society. We have crystalized this interest in our educational institutions, with their vast ramifications and intimate connection with the life of every person. Yet the intellectual interests do not end here; instead they only begin, for in our schools we merely provide a start in life. The intellectual interests are maintained thruout the entire life. There is no limit to the increase of this interest and it is in all probability the one which has had the largest growth in the life of society and the one which bids fair to show the greatest development in the future.

These are by no means all of the different groups of interests which might be mentioned, nor all of the branches of those interests. Man is in fact made up of a bundle of interests, each of which is pressing its claims for attention. By interests we do not mean the great compelling forces of society, but the motives and incentives that prompt man to do things. These interests are also fundamental to our social institutions. It is the religious interest which is crystallized into religious organizations; the political interests underly law and government; the economic interest is the cause for the building up of industry and commerce; our intellectual interests produce educational institutions. Other interests are the incentives to other institutions. In the next chapter we shall see how these institutions in turn control the life of man.

Group Interests. — Society is made up of a collection of groups. Each person in society is a member of several groups. He is a member of some family, which is a group, the one which is generally regarded as the fundamental social group. He is at the same time a member of many other groups, possibly of a church or Sunday School, a baseball team, a business firm, a political party, a lodge, a club, a board of directors, a chautauqua association, etc. He may be not only a member of such more or less permanent groups as have been mentioned, but he is continually becoming and ceasing to become a member of temporary groups — he is a unit of a crowd on the street corner, a passenger on the street car or elevator, a member of a theatre audience or a part of a crowd at the ball game or political meeting, tho in the latter case he may not be a member of the party conducting the meeting. He may belong to several groups at the same time. Each time he is influenced to some extent by the group of which he is a member, even if it is merely the group in the express elevator. At the same time he exercises his influence upon the other members of the group, tho he may never speak to them. Groups may be consciously and purposely organized or they be unconsciously and accidentally formed. Each group stands for a definite purpose, especially the conscious and purposeful group, like the political party or the church; but even the crowd on the street car has a purpose in common — that is they are desirous of riding on the same car at the same time. In brief, these groups are the results of social interests, whether these interests be

lasting or fleeting; each interest causes for the time being the formation of a group.

The group is always stronger than the individual, for he, tho helping to shape the group, is controlled by it. If he is a member of a church, he is obliged to abide by the regulations of that body, altho he may have a voice in the making of those regulations. The group is continually whipping the individual into line. The code of conduct demanded by the group may or may not be superior to that of the individual. In the group the individual may try to hide his meaner self and show only his better nature, and yet in other crowds the opposite may be true, as illustrated by a crowd lynching a negro for insulting a white man. The crowd may be controlled by the better spirits or by the baser ones, depending upon conditions. Some individuals always rise above the group, but on the other hand there are individuals who are always below the group standard. But the group is continually trying to compel its members to be alike. Group standards are always made for the average person and there are always those who chafe under them. Seniors in college occasionally object to requirements and restrictions which to the Freshman seem very lenient, because these requirements and restrictions are not made for Seniors but for the average college student, who is theoretically half way between the Sophomore and Junior years. The Senior has grown tired of them, has possibly outgrown them. It is much the same with nearly all groups. If a person is too big for his group (a situation which often arises), he should get out of it, because he will either neglect his duties, because he does not value his position or arouse the jealousy or envy of his fellows, or possibly both. As a result it is often much more difficult for a person to fill a position which is too small for him than one which is too big, for in the latter case his associates do not envy or fear him, so are willing to help him out of his difficulties. Social progress consists in raising standards—which means the elevation of group standards—and this must be the result of individual action within the group. The reformer as a rule is hated and ridiculed, sometimes even persecuted and killed. The problem of life often consists in finding out how far to be the reformer and when to be merely an conformer. The innovator must always carry the burden of proof. Yet the success of the group depends not upon the subjection of the individual, but in

its service to the individual members of the group. If it retards their interests, it will be only a question of time until it is retired. Sometimes group struggles, however, are merely struggles between individuals within the group, and sometimes it is best for society for the individual to remain in a certain group — *i. e.*, the penitentiary, reformatory, insane asylum, feeble-minded school, hospital. While the individual might live a freer life outside the group, it is often best to remain in it — for instance, in the family. An individual may function well in one group and be a failure in another. He may be a model husband and father, yet be a pickpocket or gambler by occupation; he may be a successful minister and yet neglect his family; he may be a magnificent athlete and yet be a poor student; he may be a splendid salesman and yet not pay his debts.

As a rule groups — that is, permanent groups — in society follow occupational lines. Followers of each occupation form a group by itself; bricklayers belong to their union, work for its advancement, and associate with other bricklayers and with workers in allied trades; factory hands join together to form their own groups; so do employers in the different fields of industry; professional people associate according to professions; day laborers herd together in much the same way. This grouping is not altogether on the basis of occupation, but also in regard to recreation, social endeavors, religion, and politics. There are churches which cater to the rich and others which are attended only by the poor. Stores in the same way appeal to certain groups and each political party tries to organize its followers according to occupational or racial lines, appealing to these interests to hold them together. Farmers associate with farmers not only in economic ways, but for religious, social, educational, and welfare interests. While there are many exceptions to this rule, it is the tendency, where conditions permit, for those of the same or kindred occupations to associate and form groups based on interests even outside of their real occupational interests, simply because they have certain things in common and because of this feel more at home with those of the same or allied occupations than with members of other occupations.

We might go on and enumerate instances of group action — the formation and breaking up of groups; in fact we might work out a whole system of associations. Man does not act or function individually, but as a member of some group. So important is this matter of group interest that

Professor Small considers that the study of sociology is primarily a study of groups, group interests, and group action. While we cannot of course go to that extreme, we give due weight to this factor in society. Groups are to society what words are to a speech or to a story; they make up society in much the same way that the words make up the speech or the story; yet taken by themselves they are often dull and uninteresting. We must take into consideration their arrangement and the thot back of them. To study groups we must study the interests underlying them, the institutions which they produce, and the setting which they have by reason of their environment. We must not forget society because of the groups; we must not overlook the achievements of man in our eagerness to study the methods by which they were brot about; we must not neglect the conditions and problems of society in our study of the functions of groups.

Man has instincts, feelings, and intellect, and he is prompted to act by interests which are largely the outgrowths of these three factors. These interests take the forms of group interests; hence man functions in groups. These same group interests lead to the development of institutions, which control society. The individual's relation to the group is much the same as the relation of the letter to the word, or of the atom to the molecule. He is a part of the group, but the group is the stronger of the two. He ordinarily has a hand in molding the group, but only as a member of the group. Occasionally the individual is able to break up the group and form another, or to remain in the group and control it; in fact we often find such cases, but the burden of the proof is on the leader, and he must function for the best interests of the group in order to hold this position and convince his followers that he is doing so. In general it is the group which control the individual and not the individual which controls the group.

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CHAPTER XVII

SOCIAL CONTROL

By social control we mean that form of control which directs or governs the action of society or the groups that compose society. It is that control which determines the action of the group, rather than the action of the individual. As each individual is a member of several groups, he is always affected by such a form of control, but he is affected as a member of a group, rather than as an individual.

Some type of social control is absolutely necessary in any form of organized society; in fact we are so accustomed to social control that we not only do not resent it, but we ordinarily do not even recognize it, merely taking it as a matter of course. But social control is not confined to highly civilized races, for the savage tribes as well have their systems of social control. The savage is governed by superstition, fear, and belief in charms and spirits, even tho he does not have well developed social institutions. The form of the control may be different, but the idea is the same; the control is there and is just as effective, even if the means of working it out may not be like those of modern society.

We do not contend at all that this social control is consciously worked out, for it may be unconscious. As we shall see, public opinion is probably the greatest means of social control that we have had generally guides our action without our forming any idea about it. Art, education, custom, and habit rule us in much the same way. Fear, superstition, and belief in spirits controlled the savage also in this manner. Law of course is consciously felt, and religion often is, altho not necessarily so.

Since the action of the individual affects society, it is only right that society should have some say in regard to what that action shall be. Society must have the right to defend itself against the actions of unsocial individuals, also the right to curb the extreme members of the group and to compel the individual members to conform more or less strictly

to group standards and ideals. Not only is control necessary for the advance and progress of the human race, but it has been absolutely essential to life itself. As society becomes more intricate and life more complex, social control becomes more imperative. As population becomes denser, it becomes more necessary for society to lay down rules and regulations in regard to the actions of its members so as to protect the rights of each, to prevent the strong from exploiting the weak, and to keep the anti-social individuals from injuring the life of normal society. As Ross maintains,¹ sympathy, sociability, and a sense of justice are common to all and form what he calls a "natural order". We all have the ability to feel for others, tho it is of course more developed in some than in others. In some it applies only to those who are near or who come into contact with them while in others it reaches out into the higher feeling of altruism. With some it means only an attempt to avoid, with others an attempt to relieve, and with still others a desire to remedy permanently. We are all more or less social beings; we cannot live isolated lives. We are not only compelled to come into contact with our fellowmen, but we also crave their company. Man was in early times forced to be social to some extent to live, and in order to advance we also are compelled to be social. In the same way there is in all of us a sense of justice or love of fair play, a liking to put contestants on an equal footing. This is especially seen today in our games. The same feeling exists among savages. It is much more highly developed in some races, however, than in others, because of more favorable opportunities. For the same reasons it is more highly developed among men than women, altho sympathy is just the opposite, being stronger among women, because it is a natural outgrowth of the family relationship. This sense of justice is not necessarily sympathy, for justice is an attempt to make people equal and to treat them as equals, while sympathy deals with unequals; it is the feeling on the part of the strong of compassion for the weak, and for this very reason is generally scorned by those who are strong and is sought only when one feels his weakness and misfortune. Because of this fact we cannot have a sense of justice when we recognize partiality and such class distinctions as master and slave, or lord and serf. The greater the inequality the less chance for justice, and the harder it is for justice to be

¹Ross, E. A., "*Social Control*", Part I.

recognized. Coupled with this sense of justice is a sense of resentment if justice is not enforced. Not only do these three — sympathy, sociability, and a sense of justice — form a social order, but form a basis for social control, a reason for its existence, and a groundwork for its structure.

We find struggles between different forms of social control, between different codes. We see this strongly developed when one nation conquers another — *e. g.*, the conquest of Persia by the Greeks, of the Britons by the Normans, and of the Poles and Finns by the Russians. We also saw it, tho less forcibly, in this country when we received into our midst a mass of immigrants. We find group morality coming into conflict with individual morality. The individual is not always wrong; in fact group morality is often lower than individual morality, or perhaps we ought to say does not rise to such heights. It holds more of a middle ground. We find the group often stifling reform because the reform is too advanced for the group to appreciate. On the other hand, we find the group holding in restraint the wayward individual. If group morality were not lower than the highest individual morality, it could not be enforced.

To have social control we must also have some form of authority to enforce it. To enforce this authority there have sprung up at various times different classes which have exercised control, for example prophets and priests, who have been especially powerful in times of danger and mystery; elders, who among many peoples, such as the American Indians, have been looked up to for advice and council because of their age and experience; the nobility thruout the Middle Ages and in some countries even to this day; the capitalist class, who have controlled whenever industry has been highly developed; the educated and what Professor Ross calls the "elite" like the Greek philosophers, the Stoics, the early Christian Fathers, and the Mandarins of China; then there have always been sporadic individuals or geniuses, who by their own personality and brilliancy have gained power, among whom might be mentioned Napoleon, Cromwell, and Hannibal. The character of control varies of course with every change in the ruling class or with every modification in the system of control. The management of the capitalist is different from that of the old landlords, which precede it; also the control of the educated differs from that of the elders.

¹Ross, E. A., "*Social Control*", p. 83.

Means of Social Control.—*Public Opinion.*—Of the various means or forms which social control takes public opinion is probably the most important, and also the one ordinarily least considered by the average person. Ross divides this control into three parts:¹ (1) Public sentiment, or the admiration, abhorrence, respect, or disgust expressed by the public in regard to an act or event. (2) Public judgment, or the forming of an opinion in regard to the act; a condemnation or approval; the decision as to whether the act is good or bad, advantageous or disadvantageous. (3) Public act, or measure taken by the public, other than the sentiment or judgment mentioned, in regard to the act, in order to affect conduct, to control such acts or actions—to stop them, or prevent their repetition in the future.

Public opinion is expressed by the snub, the cut, the cold shoulder; its aim is generally to ostracize. It finds expression not only thru the individualistic act but thru the press, the pulpit, and public resolutions. It is brot more vividly to our minds by the cartoon, the popular song, the poster, and by any means that will help to develop and influence public sentiment. But public opinion does not always confine itself to such wild means of expression; it sometimes becomes violent and frequently ends by riding the offender on a rail, by applying a coat of tar and feathers, and by lynching. It even breaks into the home at times and interferes with family life, where the offense is such as wife-beating, or cruelty to children. It even rides over laws and enforces its decisions in spite of law. It sometimes compels government officials to act, in fact public officials are always more or less susceptible to it. Public opinion ostracises those who do not go with the crowd. People will have little to do with the persons who differ with them. While stronger in some places than in others the force of public opinion is seen in all sections of any country.

The United States government made very effective use of public opinion in maketing its Liberty bonds, selling War Savings Stamps, enforcing food regulations, and teaching other methods of conservation and war economy during the past war. It was also made use of by the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., and other organizations. In all probability the tremendous success of America's war program was due more to the force of public opinion than to any other single cause.

¹Ross, E. A., "*Social Control*".

Public opinion is extremely irregular in its actions, and is much less uniform than law, altho often more effective. It is often unjust, and while it frequently rights great wrongs, as shown by such instances as the demanding of the Magna Charta, the establishment of liberty in France, the forcing of the president of France to pardon Dreyfus, and the compelling the woolen and cotton mills in Massachusetts to grant the workers increases in wages after the Lawrence strike in 1912, it has on the other hand frequently demanded and obtained the execution of many of the world's greatest benefactors, among whom have been Christ, Socrates, Huss, and innumerable other religious and political reformers. In fact it seems to be the history of all nations that they have killed their greatest benefactors. Public opinion often sets out to right some great wrong, but when the wrong is overthrown, instead of stopping and calming down continues and becomes an ungovernable menace, as shown by the French Revolution and still more recently by the activities of the Bolsheviks in Russia.

Effects of Public Opinion.—(1). Probably the most lasting effect of public opinion is found in our legal statutes. Laws could not be made, still less enforced, unless backed up by public opinion. The prohibition laws in Kansas and Maine could not be enforced until public opinion was thoroly in favor of them; then enforcement was comparatively easy and effective. (2). Court decisions are influenced by it. This is especially true of the Supreme Court of the United States, for as a result of public opinion the Supreme Court has in recent years given much more liberal interpretation of our laws. A good illustration of this is the change in the interpretation of the Sherman anti-trust act. (3). Policies of nations are dictated by it; the breaking of the Triple Alliance by Italy in the great war is a good example from modern times. The people of Italy were in sympathy with France, and not with Germany or Austria, and they compelled the Italian government to go in on the side of Allies instead of joining the countries with which she had an alliance. In a republic this type of influence is still stronger. (4). When, as already suggested, it controls the actions of individuals, even if the individual is supposed to be disinterested and impartial. This is seen every day in baseball games, when not only the actions of the players but also the decisions of the umpires are all too often influenced by the actions of

the crowd. In fact it is extremely difficult to find a competent umpire, one who can in the average town render fair decisions, in spite of players or the crowd.

The growth of public opinion depends upon the freedom of communication, particularly freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Its control is much greater in a republic like the United States than in such a country as Russia, or even Germany. Leaders must respect public opinion if they are to succeed. The successful politician feels the pulse of the people and expresses his policies along the lines with which the public is in sympathy. Theodore Roosevelt is probably the best recent example that can be found of the politician who practices this method — perhaps the best that the United States has ever produced. On the other hand William J. Bryan has always managed to be just in advance of the people; he promulgated policies before the people were ready for them. Roosevelt took up many of these same policies after they became popular. No great movement can succeed unless supported by public opinion. If public opinion is against a reform or a progressive policy, public opinion has to be changed by a course of advertising and publicity before the measure can be carried thru or made effective. While irregular and erratic, public opinion is one of the strongest and farthest reaching means of social control that we have. The public cannot be "damned"; it has to be catered to.

Law. — The importance of law as a means of social control is self-evident, and the majority of people would probably put it first in the order of importance; but in reality it is secondary to public opinion. In fact, as we have seen, it is merely a reflection or echo of public opinion; it represents the crystalization of public opinion. Laws are the rules of society laid down for its government. They are to protect society; to guard the individual against molestation and to protect the public against the acts of the unsocial. In order to protect, law takes into its hands the right of punishment. As we shall see in a later chapter on crime, the theory of this punishment has changed. At first punishment was a means to get revenge, and then to repress or stamp out the so-called criminal classes; this latter theory changed to one of reformation, then to prevention. Yet the main idea of punishment has been to protect society.

As a means of control law is more regular and methodical than public opinion, and for that reason it is generally slower

and often clumsier. It is, however, more accurate, altho we find some laws that are unjust just as we find public opinion sometimes in the wrong. Laws are evaded by having loop-holes found in them; in fact law often punishes those who do not deserve it and allows those who deserve it to escape without punishment. While law follows public opinion, it is often far in the rear; it can never precede. Probably the bulk of the large fortunes in this country were accumulated by — or had their start — in methods which today would be criminal, but which were legal at the time of the amassing of the fortune because there were no laws preventing such practices as rebating, pooling, stock-watering, forming inter-locking directorates, paying starvation wages, boodling, employing child labor, adulteration, under-cutting and under-selling, and other unfair methods of competition. While law is clumsy at times and unjust, it is necessary. What we need in this line is not less law, but more efficient law, better laws, abolition of useless and out-of-date laws, more effective legal machinery, and more efficient courts. Most of our criticisms of law are attributable to the inefficiency of our courts rather than to the inadequacy of our laws.

Religion. — Ross in his "*Social Control*" treats religion under two heads — "beliefs" and "social religion" — but the writer sees no necessity of making any such distinction. If there should be any distinction it might be between theology and religion.

Religion, or the belief in some superhuman personage or power and faith in that power or person, has always been one of the greatest controlling elements in human life. It probably governs the life of the savage far more than it does the life of the civilized person in his every day acts. In the past this control was exercised largely thru the fear of bodily pain or of future torment. The religion of the savage was largely one of magic and superstition. He did not do certain acts because he believed that doing them or failing to do them would bring a penalty or punishment. He performed certain rites before planting his crop for fear that if he omitted them the seed would not grow or he would not be able to reap a harvest. He performed other rites before setting out on a warlike campaign for fear that the gods or spirits would not bring him victory if he neglected them. He avoided doing certain things as, for example the killing of a sacred animal for fear that the act would arouse the

anger of the spirit or god represented by that animal, and thus he would suffer for it. When the religion laid down certain rules of life he followed them for fear of future torment, lest according to his belief in the transmigration of souls, he have his soul pass into an impure or unpopular animal, like a toad, snake, or worm. Fear of injuring the spirits of ancestors, if ancestor worship was the recognized form, was a strong means of controlling the actions of individuals. Fear of the charms and powers of medicine men compelled tribes to obey them and carry out their wishes. The same was true of the priests and prophets, because it was believed that they had some connection with the superhuman power and so had the ability to injure or to bring good. This is easily noticed in early Hebrew history, when the prophets were feared and obeyed, not only by the common people but by the kings as well. Even down to our present time religion has controlled thru fear of hell-fire. Control is exercised thru fear by the Brahmans, and Mohammedans, and in many countries by the Greek and Roman Catholic churches, by means of holding up not only future torment but even present punishment. Provision for the future is one of the strongest means used today by the modern Protestant and Catholic churches for bringing people into line. The modern tendency, however, is not to emphasize the fear of torment and punishment so much as the delight of future happiness and content. In other words religion is holding out reward rather than threatening punishment. This of course shows a great advance and gives a loftier meaning to religion. It also ennobles religious action. Not only the desire of making provision for a happy future, but also that of pleasing departed friends is one of the forms which religious control takes. This is seen in our custom of decorating the graves of the departed.

Religion controls also by forming a social unit, by making a social center of the place of worship. The synagogue of Jerusalem was a center not only of religious but of political and social life. Our churches formerly served this purpose better than they have done recently, and we are now endeavoring to make them perform this social function more effectively in the future. Our city churches—that is the ones that are successful—have already adopted this plan and are using their church buildings during the week as halls for clubs; they are putting in gymnasiums in connection, organ-

izing baseball clubs, basketball teams, reading circles, classes in manual training and domestic science, and are teaching immigrants. In this way they are endeavoring to obtain greater control over the lives of the people, in order to regain the ground which the church has lost. If the church regains its old prestige as a part of our life, it must obtain it through such a program as this. Formerly the church was the social center of the community, and it must recover at least a part of this influence if it serves the community as it should. The church of course has surrendered to other institutions, particularly the school, functions which it can never regain, and probably should not regain, because formerly these other institutions were not organized and the church had to undertake these duties. A good illustration is found in the administration of poor relief. The charity organizations are probably better fitted to do this work than the church — at least they are doing it better than the church did.

Religion controls not only the lives of individuals, but also the policies of nations and the destinies of races. The Mohammedan conquests were incited entirely by religious zeal, and were not stopped until the Mohammedan horde met a similar force incited by Christianity at Tours under Charles Martel. Religious motives drove the Huguenots out of France, massacred the Armenians, caused the Pilgrims and Puritans to migrate to Massachusetts, and Catholics to Maryland, and thus helped settle America with a liberty loving race. It is religion which has individualized the Jewish race and has kept it from being absorbed by other races. The church for centuries controlled the policies of the most of Europe, and was not even separated from the state in France and Spain till the last few years. It was even interwoven with the government of Russia before its overthrow and was possibly the chief support of the Romanoffs. The nations engaged in the great war all appealed to God for His help, each firmly believing that He was on its side. The German, Russian, French, and English governments all solemnly informed their people that God was with them and would bring victory to their side. The kaiser was particularly desirous of having his name linked up with that of God.

Religion has also had its influence in molding law and has given us largely our conception of right and wrong. As we noticed in our treatment of the family, Christianity exerted a great influence in elevating the position of woman, thus

enabling the family to perform its service in the advancement of civilization. Religion has also furnished inspiration for artists, painters, sculptors, and poets, who have in return also helped increase the controlling power of religion. Religion has interwoven itself with practically all our social institutions: we open our legislatures with prayer; we appeal to God in our courts every time the oath is administered; our coins bear the inscription "in God we trust"; we figure time from the birth of Christ.

Many writers have exercised their ingenuity in showing how religion has hindered civilization and has stood in the way of progress; moreover in many cases they are correct, for a number of instances where religious organizations have hindered progress can easily be found. For a long time the church fought science. Men were burned at the stake as heretics because they contended that the world was round; because they had invented some new way of doing things; or because they opposed some obsolete custom of the church. Religious organizations have persecuted members of others which disagreed with them; Mohammedans have persecuted Christians, and Christians have persecuted Jews; Roman Catholics have persecuted Protestants; Protestants have persecuted Roman Catholics; Greek Catholics have persecuted both; races and nations have been blotted out or nearly so thru religious hatred. In fact, some of the greatest crimes in the world's history have been committed in the name of religion. Yet in spite of all this, it is largely to religion that we owe our present high standing civilization. It is religion that has given us our loftiest thots, our standards of morals, our noblest ideals, our inspiration for a grander and nobler life. The present spread of altruism is largely due to Christianity. The Christian injunctions "bear one another's burdens", "love thy neighbor as thyself", "do ye unto others as ye would that others should do unto you" have had their influence in developing and spreading this altruism; in fact such a philosophy of life has been largely responsible for the developing of the spirit of neighborliness. This spirit is not confined to Christianity, but it is seen at its highest development in that religion. It is an extension of family feeling, the spread of sympathy, the desire not only to relieve the sufferings of others but to prevent future misery and distress. As we noticed in a previous chapter in taking

up the evolution of religion, we find that religion is constantly growing loftier and higher in sentiment and more useful to the world. While the arbitrary control of the church is becoming less important, its influence is nevertheless felt and will continue to be of importance in the future. The control is changing from one of compulsion and force to one of leadership and inspiration. The church of the future instead of driving people will lead them. Instead of whipping them into line by threats of hell-fire, eternal damnation, and future torment it will lead by pointing the way to a nobler life, to an altruistic instead of a selfish existence. It will inspire people to do better rather than compel them to do so thru fear.

Education. — Education controls mainly by its power over the child. What the child is taught it will later believe. The power of education in religion is perhaps the best example we can find of this. The form of religion which is taught in early life is the one which usually is followed in later life. This fact is recognized by some churches, particularly the Roman Catholics, which gives especial attention to the training of the children of its members according to the teachings of that church and seeks to bring them into the church early in life. The vast majority of church members belong to the same denominations that their parents belonged to.

Our ideas of right and wrong are governed largely by the teaching we receive early in life. The importance in later life of education in childhood is so great that many persons, fearing that ideas to which they are exposed may be fixed, object to religious education in the public schools. Education not only fits for life, but the teachings can be so directed as to fasten the attention of the child upon certain things or to train him to reason along certain channels.

The power of education has been recognized by those in authority, who for the purpose of perpetuating their hold, often have kept education away from those under them. In most slave countries education has been to a great extent forbidden the slaves so as to keep contented or at least reconciled to their lot and to prevent their emergence from this condition. This same policy was followed by the landlords in regard to serfs. It was followed to a large extent in Russia even until the recent revolution, for fear that the common

people would demand a greater share in the government. This has always been true with the ruling class if the submerged class was in the majority numerically. Education is generally the key to success; it opens the door to opportunity. It gives one the benefit of the experience of others; it not only tells what has been done in the past, but suggests what can be done in the future. It gives one the ability to grapple with problems and to live a greater and more useful life. The educated classes have furnished the world its greatest rulers. Legislators, magistrates, and officials are nearly always chosen from the educated classes merely because they are considered the most fitted for these positions. The superiority of some races over others is largely a matter of accumulation and diffusion of knowledge. The successful scattering and assimilation of this information depends upon the effectiveness of the educational system. We find among all savage tribes systems of education, some of which are quite effective, while others are less so; the effectiveness of the system and the usefulness of the education determine to a great extent the position of the race in the scale of civilization. The invention of the phonetic alphabet and the art of printing have added wonderfully to the progress of education and have increased tremendously the effectiveness of education as a means of social control. We find that the wonderful superiority of the Spartan as a fighting man was the direct result of the rigor of the educational system which trained him not only to fight, but to endure suffering and hardship, withstand pain, and to be superior to all difficulties. The education of the Athenian was the direct opposite — training in music, oratory, and gymnastics — and produced a race of philosophers, artists, and statesmen. The educational system of Rome produced its types in like manner, effecting the Roman lawgiver, who made it possible for Rome to rule for so long the vast territory which she conquered.

Education not only helps determine the government, laws, and institutions of the people, but it affects their customs, habits, and standards of living. With increased education goes an advance in the standards of living, which adds to the comforts of the home; it brings in books, magazines, and papers; creates a demand for more and better furniture, food, and clothes, larger and better houses; it affects the whole family life, even to the regulation of the number of children.

An immediate result of increased education is a decrease in the birth-rate, the family demanding more things for the children and placing greater attention where it should be — in the rearing and caring for smaller families rather than bringing into the world large families for which the family income is not sufficient. For the same reason the death-rate is decreasing.

Education is no longer being looked upon as a convenience, but as a necessity to society. The period of education is constantly growing longer. Instead of a few days or weeks spent in educating the youth, as is the time limit with the savages, the period has stretched into months and years. More subjects are put into the school curriculum and required of the student. Schools are being made not only to preserve the knowledge which has been already gained, but to prepare for further advance in all lines. Education is even being extended to adults; this phase is probably developed to a greater extent in Denmark than in any other country, altho the United States is rapidly taking up the idea, especially in regard to agricultural education, and is extending this thru correspondence and university extension courses.

The school has supplanted the church in many ways, especially in the training of the young and in acting as a social center; in all probability it affects the community in a greater manner; it at least reaches more people. Our early colleges were founded, however, for the chief purpose of training ministerial students, tho this function has now grown to be of minor importance in comparison with the other activities of the American colleges and universities. The transfer of responsibility for education may not necessarily be a sign of weakness, for it may be only right for the church to surrender this function as soon as the child became able to carry it on, thus have more time for other fields of labor as yet not covered, and so give itself a chance to be of greater use to society. But we shall have to admit that as a force for the control of society education has rapidly increased and is constantly growing. We can welcome this change, for education has brot about a higher standard of living; it has enabled man to live in an orderly, scientific manner rather than in a haphazard way; it points to still greater progress.

Custom and Habit. — Custom and habit as social forces are not progressive like education, but regressive; they stand

in the way of any change or progress. They are reactionary, conservatory forces, and while they often hold a healthy check upon impulsive action, they in turn often hinder philanthropic and altruistic endeavors, and thus check the advance of civilization. The chief argument of custom is: This should be done because it has always been done; it is the best because it has always been so; it should be because it has always been. Every change in educational methods, as well as the addition of any new science, like sociology is opposed by custom. Custom lifts its hands in holy horror at any change in religious beliefs or any different interpretation put upon the Bible than that which has been given it in the past. New inventions in industry are looked at with askance till competition or hard times compel the factory owner to seek some new method. Home life every day gives illustrations of this; methods of doing house work are much the same today as they were a hundred years ago simply because of this force which stands in the way of change. The greatest obstacle which the woman suffrage and the feminist movements have to face is custom, which has tried to settle for eternity the position of woman in society. The writer well remembers the refusal of the authorities of Harvard University to allow Mrs. Pankhurst to speak in one of the university halls for the sole objection that no woman had ever spoken in them.

The average person follows the multitude without thought. A few see another and possibly a better way but follow the old because they know it is easier to go with the crowd even if the way is round-about than it would be to go in opposition to custom and habit. Others, more hardy and fearless, deliberate, see the advantage of the change, and take the new way. Sometimes the new ways eventually win favor, and sometimes they are defeated.

All institutions which have anything to do with control change slowly, and the impetus comes from within rather than from without. The burden of proof is always upon those seeking the change, who must therefore show that the new is superior to the old.

Art. — Art as a social force, while fully as apparent as custom, is much more difficult to classify. It is both progressive and reactionary. It may keep alive old sentiments by use of hymns, patriotic songs and poems, of which the

Aeneid and the Iliad are good examples; or it may usher in a new type, as is done thru the drama and thru new songs and poems. Art may arouse the passions to outbursts of enthusiasm, as may be produced by the playing of Dixie or America. It may kindle sympathy for the lowly, such as cannot be avoided in the reading of Grey's "*Elegy*", which shows the life of the poor and gives the reader a picture of the struggles, ambitions, and virtues of the life of the laboring class. On the whole art creates enthusiasm in some form or other. The illustrations always add to the selling qualities of the book, and if they are good to the real helpfulness of the work. Art attracts attention and appeals to more people than education; music reaches both the educated and the uneducated. In fact we recognize the influence of art among all races of men, even finding it in the caves of Europe drawings dating back about one hundred thousand years. We find among savages the influence of art, both music and decoration, playing an important part in social control. This influence has continued down to the present day, only the form is changed. Art is often used to exploit the sense of the sublime, as in the case of the Madonnas, and also the virtues, as in Spencer's "*Faerie Queene*". On the other hand, art is used to make the vices attractive, taking such forms as saloon decorations and suggestive pictures, many of which often are works of art, or at least have some artistic value. The nature of the control by art is varied; it may be at one time subtle and delicate and at another forceful and commanding. While at times employed in degrading enterprises, as the saloon and the brothel, art is on the whole uplifting and elevating; and it has been of great aid in the advance of civilization.

Personality. — Control by personality has probably been exaggerated by historians, altho from a sociological sense this phase of control differs somewhat from the "great man" theory of history. It means the influence of the individual thru his personality over the mass or crowd. This influence may result from great size or striking features, by wonderful energy or enthusiasm; or it may be caused by some peculiarity which attracts attention. Illustrations may be noted in the extraordinary size of Peter the Great, the height and ugliness of Lincoln, and the sternness of Cromwell. Military leaders are generally large men phys-

ically or else they have an unusual amount of dash and courage, or a decidedly martial appearance. Politicians always find that size is a great help; it adds dignity and commands attention. Sometimes lack of size may be offset by great energy or force, or by such peculiarities or idiosyncrasies as the wearing of an excessive amount of gold lace or braid, as in the case of Murat. To be a leader one must command respect and to a certain extent produce a feeling of awe; this is the reason why no great man is ever great to his valet, his intimates, or his own relatives. For different walks in life different qualities are needed; a banker must have a personality to insure confidence in his financial integrity; a minister must be honored for his piety or devotion; a teacher requires knowledge and an ability to impart it; a salesman needs the ability to sell goods or to win the confidence of his customer. The kind of personality. This is possibly a reason why so often the leader in college makes a failure in life; and why, on the contrary the student who goes thru college without attracting attention often is the one who wins the greatest success, because his personality is not the kind to attract attention in the more or less artificial atmosphere of the college campus.

In natural societies personal control, or the wielding of influence thru personality in some form, such as control by means of the strong arm, was about all the kind there was. At first the leaders were leaders because of their superiority. When they tried to transmit this rule to their descendants, they established royal families and the rule of kings.

There have been leaders who lacked personality, making up for its absence by mental shrewdness, cunning, or some other characteristics. But they have been handicapped by the lack. If one has an imposing personality, the chance of succeeding in life is much greater than if one does not have it.

On the whole, control by personality is difficult to analyze, altho it is always apparent. Its force is probably weakening as our personal contact with others becomes less important, as the readers of speeches far outnumber the hearers of them, as the ability to write overshadows the ability to speak, and as control by law is supplanting control by force.

Ceremony. — The chief function of ceremony is to attract attention, to impress those around with the importance of

the occasion. The wearing of caps and gowns is to call attention to the importance of the wearers and to create due respect for them. The wearing of robes and wigs in courts, together with the ceremonies of opening court, etc., has the same purpose. Initiation ceremonies to fraternal orders and college fraternities are to impress the novice with the importance of the step that he is taking. The marriage ceremony is to call attention to the seriousness of the vows and the change involved in the new relation. Ceremonies often lend an air of mystery, even deceiving at times; but this effect is growing less, altho at one time it figured prominently. However, the control is no less effective if the onlooker or novice thoroly knows the meaning of the ceremony; in fact the result is often more permanent, for the knowledge of meaning calls attention to the act and causes the participant to think. If an institution is necessary to society, ceremony performs a useful function by calling attention to it in this manner and by thus helping to keep alive that institution. On the other hand, if the institution has been outgrown, ceremony may injure by wasting time and means. On the whole ceremony is a minor form of social control.

Other Means of Control.—There are other means of control which might be mentioned, such as duty, allusion, social valuations, etc. Illusion controls largely by appealing to the imagination, by reference to some established idea or custom, or by the appeal to do the conventional thing, such as the propriety of going to Sunday School and the inadvisability of going skating or fishing on the Sabbath. An appeal to solidarity, as standing by the party and voting the ticket straight, is often quite effective. This appeal frequently breaks down, especially if the interest of the mass precludes our own selfish interest; an example is the evading of our own personal taxes even tho if we know that thereby we make taxes in general higher, for we are interested in our own taxes much more than in the taxes of the community. We are, however, not only willing but even eager that others shall conform, obey laws, and work for the interest of all; but when it applies to us, the shoe fits too snugly and we are willing to slip if off for an easier fitting one. We are always glad to suggest to our neighbors what they ought to do, but only a few of us are willing to follow the path which

duty points out. Yet this spirit of duty and of allusion to a higher mode of living has its effect upon human action; it is reflected in our laws, customs, and habits and has a beneficent effect upon civilization. One of the means of control used by the clergy in all lands is the allusion to a future world. Yet this control is probably growing weaker and is giving way to control by conscience and sympathy, or altruism. In other words, people are reasoning things out more for themselves than they formerly did; they are following more the dictates of their own intellects and consciences and relying less upon the suggestions and allusions of others. Education is constantly supplanting these forms of control, because it is better able to serve society.

General Characteristics of Social Control. — Social control generally takes in some way or other, the form of class control. Laws were at first simply the arbitrary commands of those in power; then rulers laid down rules to suit their own convenience. Later the recognition of the rights of the governed class came into vogue, altho those in power shaped the laws, consciously or unconsciously, in their own favor. The American Constitution, fine document that it is, was made by the capitalist class, working undoubtedly, however, for the best interests of the country at large; yet it overemphasized the individualistic point of view and has been a hindrance to many reforms. The world has probably never received such a worthy document from a class so decidedly in the majority. The laws laid down in England by the Normans were in favor of the Normans, at first almost exclusively; later after intermarriage took place and the Anglo-Saxons were recognized as deserving recognition, the laws favored them more. Each religious denomination or class, when in power, governs for its own benefit. The nobility in feudal times ruled in the interests of the nobility. In Rome the patricians ruled for the patricians, and in Greece the citizens paid little consideration to those who were not citizens. In fact social control has taken the form of class control in some way or other almost universally; even control by public opinion, the most general of all means of social control, is the control on the part of those who express this opinion, control by the majority or the minority who assert themselves. We even find public opinion consciously fostered and developed by a few who regulate it for their own

benefit as far as they are able. This is the method used by the modern politician. The question to be considered here is: If a class is superior, should it not control? In a competitive society the lower class is usually the inefficient one; that is the reason why it is the lower class. Now if the upper class is the superior class, why should it not rule? We might admit the validity of this argument, but remember that the rules should recognize the rights of the lower classes. But as soon as this class ceases to be the superior class, then the question comes up with equal force. Why should it continue? Society generally answers that in the negative by overthrowing the ruling class and setting up another class which is superior. The present royal families at one time or other in all probability represented the ablest people in Europe, but they have long ceased to be the ablest; yet custom, habit, and law, also public opinion in many countries, have kept them in power. They have been compelled, however, to submit to public opinion and to allow their power to be so curtailed that they have only the vestige of their former authority. The final question arises: Should the educated, the efficient, or the strong rule?

As has been suggested, social control changes; no one system remains in power forever. Neither does any system have the same weight as time passes. As the needs of society change we find that control changes accordingly. Ignorance demands a different kind of control from that needed among the educated; this is especially noticed in the methods used by different religions, or in the same religion as the adherents become more enlightened. Christianity controls in a vastly different way from Judaism, from which it grew, and the control in Christianity is itself constantly evolving. Control over the family is exercised in a different way from what it once was by the churches, for churches even countenance divorce, when formerly they condemned it, thus recognizing the changing conditions in society. It is the same with other means of control; laws are repealed and new ones made because of new or different needs. Customs and habits are outgrown and discarded and new ones formed. Methods of education change. The education among the Athenians consisted largely of music and philosophy. A hundred years or so ago the classics were emphasized, later the natural sciences, and now the tendency is along the line of the social

sciences, because of the recognition of different needs. Methods in education change: learning by rote gave way to a better method, and every few years a new method gains prominence and after proving its efficiency is recognized and adopted, such as the Batavia and Gary plans. Conflicts of interests in society bring about changes in the systems of control, the old system being overthrown by the new. Inventions and discoveries bring about changes in methods of control, as illustrated by changes in methods of warfare. Recently the submarine and airship have produced new problems. The railway and automobile have brot in new habits, customs, and laws. Inventions and discoveries are continually breaking down old methods of control and instituting others.

A system of social control should exercise authority with as little friction as possible; it should be scarcely felt and should be pleasant rather than irksome. It should meet with universal or nearly universal approval and should benefit rather than injure. It is much easier to lead than it is to drive; hence control should stir up as little resistance or resentment as possible. Leaders can only mold public opinion, religious ideas, and educational methods. To be effective they must be supported by the masses. When the opinion of the mass is bad, when their sentiments are corrupting or degrading and their information incorrect, the point of view must be changed gradually and carefully before that mass can be seriously affected. A sentiment must be created in favor of a law before it can be successfully enforced. Control has existed thru fear and does so exist even to the present day, but we find almost universally that that form of control in the long run is inferior to a system of control which exists because the people controlled want it, because they recognize its value. Social control should not stifle individual initiative, cripple individual effort, limit the selective process, or prevent the struggle for existence. In short, it should not interfere with those forces which have built up society unless those forces are no longer useful and have become destructive. In fact any system of social control should be able to stand upon its own merits, exist because it is advantageous, and cease to exist as soon as it fails to perform its mission. We shall always need social control. The aim should not be perfection, for that can never be reached; it should be either to prevent retrogression or to

bring about improvement in society. The methods used will in all probability be gentler and more congenial as we rise in the scale of civilization and have less need of severe measures. Yet the control will always be there, at least until society reaches a state of perfection, which is not likely, at least for some time to come.

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CHAPTER XVIII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

We may now take up the study of the organization of society which we were not ready to attempt at the beginning of the book. Before we did this it was necessary to study not only the forces of environment which affected the life of man but also man himself. We had to study human population, how man spread out and increased in number. We had to consider the formation and development of human institutions before we were prepared to study the structure of society itself.

There have been many attempts to classify societies and to analyze social order and human association; in fact dozens of sociologists have tried it, each one working out a different method. Professor Giddings outlines eight different kinds of societies, according to the social bond which holds them together. Simmel works out an elaborate system of social organization, and even deserts the science of sociology, thinking that he has settled all the questions of that science. Professor Giddings has developed an exceedingly elaborate system of social organization, using consciousness of kind and concerted volition as the welding elements. Other sociologists, like Small, Tarde, Ratzenhoffer, Gumpłowicz, Durkheim, and De Greef, have also formulated systems of human association. All of these are interesting and instructive, but each of them is more or less incomplete. Society is too complicated and intricate to be thus easily classified. The social process cannot be reduced to a single theory, or set of theories. We shall make no such attempt but only try to suggest some of the means of social organization.

Society consists of a vast number of individuals, who live in groups, each person being a member of many groups at the same time. Each individual, as a rule, is a member of a family; of a local community, *i. e.*, a city, town, or county; of a larger community — the state and nation; and then of a still more expanded group — humanity itself. These groups

form a system of concentric circles, each larger one containing the smaller ones. In addition each person is a member of a number of other groups, which are not so symmetrical and regular, but which continually overlap, and form and reform. Each of these groups affects the person, and the person in turn affects each group and all the other persons in those groups.

The social life, or human association, is a process of living together, the constant meeting of individuals under different conditions and associations. People work together, play together, pursue different interests or the same interests side by side or in widely different places and conditions. Some men are striving for wealth, others for fame and reputation, by winning cases in court, writing works of fiction, making discoveries in science, digging canals, building sky-scrapers, making speeches, perfecting inventions, producing works of art, or building up institutions or industries. Some are plodding along, making a bare living by laboring hard in the mine or rock quarry, shoveling coal, digging ditches, tending a machine, herding cattle, or working on a farm. Others are making a more comfortable living by following some skilled trade, such as brick laying, carpentering, blacksmithing, plumbing, or plastering. Some employ and others are employed. To some, wages are the sign of success; to others financial return is a mere incident, achievement and happiness being placed above money. Politicians and statesmen strive for power; business men and capitalists for control; teachers and scientists for reputations, and ministers to build up their parishes. Some are trying to elevate humanity thru missionary work, social service, and relief work; while others are preying upon society, getting all they can from her, as illustrated not only by our criminal class but by grafters in politics and unscrupulous business and professional men, who look upon society in the light of how much can be obtained from her. Some are pursuing callings useful to society, while others are following occupations which are anti-social or are living lives which are injurious to society. While the vast bulk of the individuals are leading honest, industrious lives, there are many who are merely parasites. Some do work which is conspicuous, like that of the statesman and industrial manager, while others do work no less important but which is never noticed, such as the daily routine

of the average housewife. Some are seeking recreation and amusement, while others follow as a profession the amusing of others. Some men are gifted by nature and others are stunted. Some make good use of their opportunities, while others throw away all their chances. Some are attractive and congenial, while others are repulsive. Some are tall and some short, some large, others small. Some are altruistic and lofty-minded, while others are selfish and degraded. Besides all have some good qualities and some bad. All too are subject to change, being selfish one minute and altruistic another, depending upon circumstances. Of such material is society made, a vast mass of persons of all grades, in all conditions of prosperity and happiness. Society might be likened to a machine with many intricate parts, or perhaps still better to a mammoth factory with thousands of complicated and intricate machines, or perhaps still better to a vast collection of such factories, with all their machinery, which again is subdivided into parts. It would be impossible to complete such an analogy, for we never could settle upon the arrangement of the machines and their parts. As suggested in our first chapter, the life of society is one mighty system of co-operation, where each person, consciously or unconsciously, does his or her part of the process. Man cannot live unto himself; he is perforce a member of this complicated system.

Society is a moral and intellectual organism, an organism which is the result not of any definite form of compact or agreement, but of progressive creation, a result which has been achieved thru experiment, struggle, and the survival of the fittest and best, not only of individuals but of ideas, ideals, interests, and institutions. Individuals, groups, nations, and races have carried on their work, done their part, and passed away. This is all the result of a gradual process — a steady addition and accumulation.

Communication. — The means by which achievements have been preserved and handed down to later generations has been chiefly that of communication — that is, the transmission of thoughts, ideas, words, attitudes, expressions of the face, etc. We communicate today by means of writing, printing, telephone, telegraph, speech, wireless telegraph, railroad, steamship, submarine, airship, and even signs and expressions of the face. Thru communication man is able to come into contact with others distant in space and time. He is able

to benefit from the thots and feelings of others. "A word is a vehicle, a boat floating down from the past, laden with the thot of men we never saw; and in coming to understand it we enter not only into the minds of our contemporaries, but into the general mind of humanity continuous thru time".¹

When a person has a new thot he is able to write it down, and not only recall it when needed but pass it on to others. Before writing was invented the past had to be preserved by means of oral tradition and memory, both uncertain methods; and as a result much was lost. Not only has writing preserved the thot of the past, but it has made civilization more rapid and history possible, for without writing no accurate records of the past could be kept. The invention of printing, and later that of the linotype, has made knowledge democratic by placing it within the reach of the common people, whereas before education was expensive and within the reach of only the wealthy. Books have brot to us the wisdom of the past and have allowed the exceptional men, no matter what their status, not only to lift themselves out of serfdom, but also to aid and uplift society.

But before man had invented books, printing, alphabet, or even speech, he communicated with his fellows by means of gestures, sounds, and signs. This communication was crude and difficult, yet by means of it he was able to advance and to reach that stage where he could make some achievement and by means of it progress more rapidly.

Art has been a means of communication, conveying thots, ideas, and feeling by means of pictures, statues, mosaics, friezes, and all forms of decoration. Music has perhaps to a still greater degree conveyed feelings, emotion, thots, and ideas. It has served as a means of progress as well as a means of control. Both art and music help to hold people together by imparting similar thots and feelings to the mass.

Modern means of communication are widely different from and more complicated than former methods. The newspaper brings to the doors of people of all classes and stations in society the same or much the same information, giving a vast fund of information of all sorts, on all kinds of topics, sometimes inaccurate and perverted, yet information just the same. Modern communication by means of permanent record is able to overcome time. Also by means of its speed it is

¹Cooley, Charles H., "*Social Organization*", p. 69.

able to overcome space; in fact modern news travels faster than sunlight. The writer well remembers hearing thru the columns of a newspaper sold on the streets of Chicago the complete account of the Burns-Johnson prize fight six or seven hours before the time scheduled for the fight to begin in Australia, the news having been sent by cable and telegraph faster than the rays of the sun travel. The invention of wireless telegraphy not only adds to the speed but aids in the diffusion of knowledge. New, rapid methods of communication have made possible modern civilization; they have given human nature the opportunity to expand and to express itself. We can almost tell how advanced in the scale of civilization a country is by the development of its means of communication: how many letters, papers, etc., are sent; books sold or read; miles of railroads, trolleys, and street car systems possessed; and number of telegrams sent and of telephones in use in proportion to the population, proper allowances being made in all cases for difference in density of population and natural features. That country in which the mass of the population is uneducated and lacking in proper means of communication is bound to be a backward country, and that country where the mass of the population is educated and able to communicate with each other with ease is certain to be an advanced country. Easy communication not only regulates the advance in knowledge but affects all the institutions; it determines the character of the government, the nature of the religion, the progress of arts and letters, and in fact all phases of the life of man. Communication is the means of achieving progress, or rather of passing it on to others. Man is continually imitating his fellows, but there has to be communication before there can be imitation. A person learns of a new invention — perhaps a means of doing some piece of work — but there has to be communication by means of seeing, hearing, or feeling before he can purposely set about imitating or improving on the invention. Communication depends of course upon innate faculties of man, but it is the means of progress.

Thru communication customs and habits develop which later control our actions. They develop much the same as do the institutions in society — *e. g.*, religion, law and government, education and the family. We take these customs and habits in life much as a matter of course, little thinking that by our adhering to them we are keeping them with us

and encouraging them, or by protesting against them and refusing to observe them we are breaking them down. In the same way each individual is working to keep up or break down the various institutions in society. If he is religious and supports religion, he helps keep it up; if he has nothing to do with it, he helps to cause it to lose its control over society. If he supports law and order, pays his taxes, and votes on election day, he upholds law and government; but if he looks upon laws as restrictions only to be evaded, fails to vote on election day, and escapes taxation whenever possible, he tries to break down the authority of law. Whenever he buys goods he contributes to the support of the industries manufacturing and distributing those goods and helps to build up the industries represented, whether they are monopolies or small concerns. If he buys the product of sweated industry or child labor, he helps to perpetuate those evils. So whether consciously or unconsciously, each member of society is throwing his influence towards the formation, development, or destruction of the habits, customs, and institutions which control society.

Society may be called the product of an economic, a religious, an ethical, a biological, psychological, or philosophical process, for it is all of these rolled into one. All these factors are constantly at work in society. Each individual has all these interests welded into his makeup and is working for or against all these interests. Each person is influenced by every other person with whom he or she comes into contact, whether the contact be physical, mental, or emotional; whether he sees the other person or reads one of his books; whether he hears one of his ideas or is influenced by one of his acts. That act may be by his presence at some appointment, his vote in a meeting of a board of directors thousands of miles away, or his instructions to some employee, working perhaps in another state, city, or continent. The person affected may never ever hear of the vote or instructions, or for that matter he may not know that there ever was such a person voting or giving instructions; yet he may by that act be affected -- may lose his position, his fortune, or even his life. Because of such facts as these social organization is entirely too intricate and complicated to be explained by any one theory or set of theories. Society is too complex to admit of classification according to the different kinds of societies, or to be explained by any one social bond, such

as Professor Giddings has postulated. Society consists of individuals living in groups and forming social classes in which they are affected by interests and controlled by customs, baits, and institutions. It is with these things that sociology should interest itself, rather than in an attempt to catalogue and classify the various factors in society, no matter how interesting such a study might be. So it is with these interests, forces, and institutions that we have made the chief object of our study.

Social Classes. — Society is also made up of social classes, which are determined by lines that are more or less definitely and sharply drawn and more or less rigidly enforced. In some countries there are the regularly defined castes, as in India. In others there are the different social classes, as the nobility, the middle class, and the peasants or serfs, which were found in France before the French Revolution, or in Russia until the recent upheaval. In some countries individuals may move from one class to another, while in others this transfer has been strictly forbidden. In India such a movement has been impossible, one never being permitted to change his caste. In other countries, such as Russia before the revolution social conditions make such a movement impossible. Under feudalism the serfs went with the land in the same manner as the buildings and improvements, and no opportunities were given the serfs to change their condition. Even in countries with highly developed governments, where there has been an advanced state of law and justice, like that found in Rome when that country prided itself upon civil justice and equality, social classes have been rigidly formed and the lines cruelly drawn. While the citizen enjoyed certain rights and privileges, there was a vast slave population which had no rights or privileges at all, the members of that class being bot, sold, abused, wronged, beaten, tortured, and even killed at the will or whim of their owners. Also all citizens were not on an equal plane, for there were different social strata; the wealthy, who were waited upon by their slaves and who controlled the state; and the rabble at the other end of the line, who were poor — so poor that they were even fed, clothed, and amused at public expense. In early Rome when luxury and vice were not so rampant and when the sterner virtues were adhered to there were the social classes. The patricians represented the wealthy and, unmindful of the interests of the plebians, who were the poor or laboring

classes, managed with a high hand the affairs of the state, till they were compelled by the plebians to grant greater privileges to the lower class. The plebians became the common soldiers, while the patricians furnished the officers and commanders. Even in democratic Greece, where the city state reached its greatest development and where there was perhaps the greatest liberty known in ancient times, there were social classes. Citizenship was limited to the natives, foreigners being excluded from all rights. Even this citizen-equality was founded upon a condition of slavery, under which the slave was devoid of all rights. Such lofty philosophers as Plato argued that slavery was a natural condition, resting upon the inequality of human nature. In early Egypt the priests and rulers were exempt from all taxes and were given all privileges, while the common people had no privileges and were compelled to serve in the army when needed and to pay all the taxes; furthermore they were not permitted to raise themselves from their condition. These social strata have resulted largely from conquests, tho to a large extent they have been based upon the inequality of natural abilities. But they have always existed, at least since history began. While with primitive man inequality exists, it is generally individual inequality, resulting from individual superiority, either physical or mental. But as soon as social organization is developed we find the rise of social classes; one class takes more privileges than another and exempts itself from certain unpleasant duties, particularly those involving physical labor, and assuming pleasant duties, such as political leadership; it administers the priestly duties, judges in times of disputes, and in general manages affairs. As civilization advances and life becomes more intricate, these different classes increase in number and complexity; they are always present. Innumerable attempts have been made to break them down and to form societies in which there would be no classes and in which all would be on the same plane. Communistic settlements have been established, but sooner or later they have lost their communistic principles or have broken up. Reformers have stirred up antagonism to existing ruling classes and have either been put down or have overthrown those ruling classes; but even when the ruling classes have been destroyed, sooner or later other classes rise up to take their place. It seems to be impossible to prevent such classes; in fact there is a great deal of truth in the argument that such divisions

are necessary to society itself. The modern tendency is to permit classes but to allow individuals to move from class to class, provided they are capable of so doing, and to prevent any one class from oppressing another for the purpose of disturbing this freedom of movement. Social classes will exist as long as there are differences in human nature and inequalities of individuals. But this inequality does not depend upon the class but upon the individual.

While in the United States class lines are less distinct than in most countries, we have our social classes just the same. Each locality has what it calls "society", more or less exclusive. Lines are also drawn according to occupation, a person's calling often either admitting or debarring him. We have classes drawn upon lines of wealth or income; the ranks of these groups are constantly shifting, according to economic prosperity. Admission to the so-called "society" depends in most cases upon one's financial rating or ability to spend. Again we have our professional class or classes, including lawyers, teachers, doctors, dentists, etc. Distinguished members of these professions are admitted to and even sought by all classes, yet the members of the professional classes associate more or less together because of common interests and desires. The skilled workers, such as carpenters, masons, bricklayers, etc., herd together because of like interests, and they in turn form what might be called a social class which considers itself decidedly above the common laborers and yet in turn is looked down upon — or at least have been in the past — by the clerks, small traders, and salaried persons in industry and commerce, even if the skilled mechanic earns double their wage. These clerks and salesmen are, however, scorned by the big business men: the manufacturers, capitalists, bankers, brokers, and large merchants. While in the United States none of these classes controls our government, at least not directly, altho all do to some extent indirectly, (especially the big business men) these class lines are manifest. While individuals, by sheer force of will power and ability, are often able to throw off the shackles of their classes and mount to the class above them, or even to the top rounds — also to fall from one class to another because of the lack of ability — the classes themselves do not rise, their members as a whole remaining together. These classes are often arrayed against each other and at all times manifest class feeling and sympathy. Many attempts are made to arrange

the social classes upon a scale of rank, such as the "upper", "middle", and "lower" classes; but such classifications are always inadequate and are often further subdivided into such orders as "upper middle" and "lower middle" classes. But the mass is in a constant ferment, and any such classification is extremely hard to make and when once made soon becomes antiquated. These social classes are of course the results of social interests and rise or fall in prominence with the changing importance of those interests. When the military interests are paramount, the military class forms a high social class; and when economic interests are of chief importance, wealth is an important determiner of social classes, and so on with the various classes; the position of the class resting to a large extent upon the importance of the interest represented.

The validity of social classes is often assailed and as often defended. Frequently classes are based upon conditions which have passed and upon needs which no longer exist; but on the other hand it is the method society uses of putting importance upon functions which it needs and considers valuable. The condition often brings injurious results to society — for instance, it is detrimental to society to have a slave class which has no privileges, or a working class which has at best only a chance to make a bare living and which is constantly on the verge of distress. It is bad to have one class live in luxury and another in wretchedness. Yet on the other hand, if one class produces more and is thus more valuable to society, it is only right that it should receive greater reward and be given a higher social position. While it is undeniably bad for society to have a condition where it is impossible for the individual to rise out of a lower class and enter into a higher one, it is only right and just that the individual who accomplishes more and is more valuable to society than another shall receive more both of world's goods and of social prestige. While hard and fast social classes are undoubtedly bad and while more or less injustice is bound to occur, this is society's method of rewarding service. As we discovered in the last chapter, social control is carried out by means of class control. In the same way social valuation is manifested by means of social classes.

Aim and Purpose of Society. — The aim of society is to promote social well-being; when it comes, however, to defining just what is meant by social well-being, there is

often a great difference of opinion. Tho the aim must be the greatest good to the greatest number of persons, what may be for the greatest good on one occasion may not be for the greatest good in society at all at another. At one time protection and safety may be the greatest need, at another time invention and discovery, at still another industrial and commercial development, at a still further time progress in literature, science, and education. The procuring of food may be all important at one period, at another the solving of some other problem, like the expansion of territory or the development of patriotism, may be most pressing.

Society must strive for the realization of the powers of self-development of the individual, but an ideally perfect society is of greater importance than the perfect individual, could either be imagined. An ideal society is not a society where one individual is sacrificed for another, where one class is highly developed and another is held down in bondage. Society must not be content with resting upon its past achievements, as has been the case in China, but must be constantly struggling to advance. Social perfection can never be achieved; yet society must never stop but keep on achieving; in fact constant progress is the law of life to society. Society must continue to create more perfect adjustments among its members. It must enable each person to fit into the social fabric in a more perfect and useful manner. This does not mean necessarily personal equality, because individuals do not have equal abilities and powers; it does mean equality of opportunity. Society is steadily striving, or should be striving, to give each person the opportunity to do his best and to contribute the most to the world; in other words it is attempting to function in the best possible manner.

Society must strive continuously to produce better forms of government — governments which will serve society in the best possible manner. Just now the tendency is towards democratic and socialistic forms of government, or those which allow the greatest amount of liberty and equality of opportunity. The aim of society is to develop the individual so that he can govern himself and to make the forces of control less irksome, to make his reactions involuntary. In religion the tendency is to allow greater freedom and the privilege to worship as one sees fit and to enable each person to work out his own beliefs, rather than have another's theol-

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ogy forced upon him; this means greater democracy in religion. Another aim is more enlightened public opinion, so that its control will be more useful. Loftier ideas of morals, higher ethical codes, and more useful customs and habits are also phases of the purposes of society. Greater justice between individual and individual must also be achieved. Philosophers at various times, from Plato down, have worked out utopias and ideal forms of society, but the most of these schemes seem only ridiculous to us simply because we have passed on to conditions of society far in advance of any of the conceptions of these philosophers. Reformers have tried in vain to establish model communities based upon some ethical or utopian principles or theories, after the order of the Oneida Community or Brook Farm, but these have all failed; yet at the same time society on the whole has been steadily advancing. Progress is constant and purposeful, not accidental; and while there are frequent lapses and constant reversions, society is steadily progressing.

Social Maladjustment.—We have been studying the interests and organization of society, considering in general its achievements, its progress, and its success. But society is not always successful in its attempts; it sometimes fails. Instead of happiness, sorrow and misery are often found. Instead of plenty and comfort, which are constantly being made more possible with the increase of inventions and the development of industry, we often find want and even starvation; and instead of better houses and clothes, we again find rags and lack of shelter. Instead of fewer hours of labor, which is the general tendency, we often find work beyond endurance and absence of periods of rest, relaxation, and recreation. Instead of higher codes of conduct, which are in general steadily being achieved, we still find crime, vice, intemperance, and lack of control. These are all due to maladjustments of some kind, sometimes caused by society itself and sometimes existing in spite of all the efforts of society to eradicate them. It is to this part of sociology that we now turn, taking up the leading forms of maladjustment: poverty, crime, immorality, and defectiveness. It is this form of sociology which is often given chief prominence, in much the same way that sickness attracts more attention than health, even tho health is the general rule and illness the exception. Also these phases attract because of the need

of attention and of efforts to correct them, whereas the natural organization of society is overlooked, because it is that to need no attention. Social maladjustment is only one phase — and an unnatural phase at that — of society, and therefore it is only one branch of sociology.

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PART FIVE
SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT

CHAPTER XIX

POVERTY

Poverty a Condition of Maladjustment. — The most of the problems of society are the results of maladjustment, the most striking illustration being, in all likelihood, the problem of poverty. As a matter of fact there is enuf economic wealth in the world to relieve all the existing poverty. Indeed at the very times in the history of the world when the conditions of poverty have been the worst (with the exception of times of famine and disaster) fortunes and landed estates have generally been the most wonderfully developed. When the provinces of Rome were impoverished in order to pay taxes, wealth was pouring into Rome, fortunes were being piled up, extravagance reigned supreme, and riot and waste were the order of the day. In France before the French Revolution, when the peasants were ground down into the dust and were in desperate economic condition, the lords and nobles were living in idleness and riotous extravagance. At the time of the industrial revolution in England, when there was so much misery and poverty and when thousands were starving, fortunes were being amassed by the owners of the mills. In India, where there is so much wretchedness and misery and where almost the entire population is living on the poverty line—to such an extent that when a crop fails thousands upon thousands die of starvation—the princes and native aristocracy have fabulous fortunes stored away. The same is true of China, as it has been of all countries both past and present; where we find great wealth we generally find simultaneously great misery. When in our own South the large estates were being accumulated, they were so acquired at the expense of slave labor, and the poorer whites were forced back into the sandy, unproductive foot-hills. In all our great cities where wealth is piled up, there we find the greatest poverty; the larger the city and the greater the wealth, the worse the poverty. One only has to turn to the works of

Jacob A. Riis, to Jack London's "*People of the Abyss*", and Booth's "*Life and Labors of the People of London*" to see the proof of this. Again in the works of Dickens and Victor Hugo we see woeful pictures of the past.

- Every now and then we hear of overproduction of a certain commodity, such as shoes, cotton goods, woollen goods, furniture and the like. Men are then thrown out of employment and thus demand is still further curtailed. At the same time that this so-called overproduction occurs there are thousands of people who are in need of these very commodities; men are in need of shirts when there is an overproduction of cotton; children go barefooted when there is an oversupply of shoes; men and women are in need of warm clothing when woollen goods are a drag on the market. At the same time these people are out of work and cannot earn the needed articles, or are working hard and yet cannot earn enuf to buy them. When some are starving, others are wasting food. When some have not a dime for food, others spend five or ten dollars for a dinner, then tip the waiter another dollar for bringing them a meal at that price. But if fortunes were leveled, it would of course be only a question of time until the same condition existed again. But still if our economic machinery worked as it should, there would be opportunity for all to make a living; dire poverty would be rare. Some people would make more than others because they are worth more. But our industrial system should so work that it might be possible for every able-bodied person of normal intelligence not only to make a decent living for himself, but to support a family of average size, so as to bring into the world another generation to take his place. Nearly always when men are out of work there is work which needs to be done and commodities which are needed to be produced. Really constructive efforts to solve the problem of poverty must take this condition of maladjustment into consideration and try to remedy the economic situation rather than merely relieve the distress and misery.

What Is Poverty? — Now the question presents itself as to what poverty really is. When is a person poor? After all, poverty is largely a state of mind. A Kentucky mountaineer may be considered rich if he owns one cow and a three-room cabin; a negro may feel rich if he has "four bits" in his pocket; and at the same time a capitalist may

commit suicide when reduced to his last million, for fear of the disgrace of becoming poor. An Italian peasant returning to his native land with five hundred dollars in his pocket is considered wealthy, while a count with large estates may be considered poor if he does not have enough money to keep up these same estates. We, however, generally regard people as poor when they lack the common necessities of life, such as proper food, adequate clothing and shelter, and a hope of maintaining these in the future with some degree of certainty. We shall in this book consider as poor such persons.

A pauper is one who receives aid from the state in some legal form or other. A person does not have to be a pauper to be poor, and unfortunately he does not always have to be poor to be a pauper. One may be in dire poverty and still be independent, and one may be rich and a pauper. Every once in a while one hears of a person's dying in an almshouse leaving behind him a fortune which nobody dreamed the person possessed. Thousands of dollars have been found in the possession of people in almshouses or of persons helped by the town.

Poverty depends to a great extent upon the standard of living. What might be considered poverty in the United States might be looked upon as affluence in India, China, or Syria. Standards of comfort differ. We in the United States regard the education of children as absolutely necessary, while in China or India such education might be considered a luxury and to be expected only of the wealthy. We consider three meals a day essential; other people might get along on less; while in Scandinavia and Germany at least four and sometimes as many as six or seven have been considered necessary. We consider separation of the sexes in a dwelling requisite; such is not the case in some places. In some countries children are expected to help support the family. We object to such a condition and demand that it be made unnecessary. So poverty depends largely upon custom and habit.

Poverty is not necessarily a lack of commodities. The Georgia "Cracker" is not an object for charity. What he needs is not help but a change of ideas. The Kentucky mountaineer or the negro does not realize that he is poor. Such people have to be brought to a realization of their condition before they can be made enthusiastic over changing or reme-

dying it. On the other hand we find people denying themselves physical needs in order to supply mental ones. We see students working their way thru college, even at times going without proper food or suitable clothing. We see parents sacrificing in order to send their children to school. We see people going hungry that they may give money to the church, especially Roman Catholics. Religion and custom often dictate wants. We see immigrants and negroes spending all they possess or can rake together on a funeral in order that the deceased may have as imposing a funeral as some one else. The same thing is done with weddings, the future being mortgaged for years to come to pay the expenses. We find girls wearing thin clothing in winter altho they may have thick suits which are out of style. We find people going without proper food in order to dress stylishly. In fact we see many wants which are foolishly placed in front of the real necessities of life. Again we find some who deny themselves for others. So poverty is often the result of foolishness and again the result of altruism.

But society is continually advancing and standards are constantly growing higher. With these advances there is an increase in demands. This makes the strain greater and the danger larger. Also the poverty line is thus drawn higher than previously and, while wealth and prosperity may increase, the danger of becoming poor may be as great as ever — in fact may even increase. We generally rank as poor those who are unable to maintain the minimum standard of living as set by the customs of the day.

Extent of Poverty. — Poverty has always existed and doubtless always will exist; the only difference is a matter of degree. We find poverty in all countries, among all classes and all stages of civilization. There was poverty in early Egypt, Ancient Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia. There was poverty in Judea at the time of Christ. Mohammed tells of poverty. There is poverty among savages, people being considered poor according to their own standards. The Australian aborigines are miserably poor, having great difficulty in providing themselves with food, altho among them clothing and shelter are considered hardly necessary. Dire poverty exists today in China, where life is one terrible struggle for existence among the masses; also in India, where a crop failure means death to hundreds of thousands. In our study

of immigration we found that poverty not only held the Italians and Slavs down in a stage of misery and distress but even kept them from rising to a higher stage of civilization, and has thus caused them to a great extent to become degenerate and, as we consider, dangerous to our civilization. But poverty as a great overwhelming problem is not confined to the past or to countries that are below us in civilization. It is present today in the most civilized of nations. It is not confined to a few unfortunate but grips a large percentage of the population. Booth estimated that 30 per cent of the people in London were in poverty, and yet he drew an exceedingly low line for poverty. Rowntree after an investigation made in York in 1899 finally concluded that 27.84 per cent of the population of York below the servant keeping class were in poverty — that is, were “living in a state of poverty (total earnings insufficient to supply adequate food, clothing, and shelter for the maintenance of physical efficiency) or so near to that state that they are liable to sink into it at any moment”. Hunter¹ asserts that in 1903 20 per cent of the people in Boston were in distress, as were also 19 per cent of the people in New York state in 1897; 18 per cent of those in New York city were in the same condition. He also estimated that in 1903 14 per cent of the families in Manhattan were evicted every year for non-payment of rent and that about 10 per cent of those who die in Manhattan have pauper burials. In conclusion he conservatively estimated that not less than 14 per cent of the people in prosperous years and not less than 20 per cent in bad times are in distress. Of course this does not mean that that many people receive charity. In fact in 1910 only about 700,000 dependants, or less than one per cent, were inmates in charitable institutions in the United States. With the addition of those who receive public help outside of institutions and those in receipt of private charity this per cent is increased to about five, which is the general estimate given for the recipients of charity in the United States in a single year. The ratio is much larger in our great cities, being about 10 per cent in New York City. When we take into account the vast numbers who apply for aid and never receive it or who do not apply, we see that Hunter's estimate is not far wrong — in fact it is perhaps conservative. This means not

¹Hunter, Robert, “*Poverty*”, pp. 20-27.

that this number of people are in continual need, but that they are in distress during at least part of the year. Distress is largely seasonal; it is much greater in winter than in summer because of the greater demands caused by the season, for greater outlay is necessary for fuel, clothing, and food, work is less abundant, and of course the struggle to make both ends meet becomes keener. The average family can keep going during the greater part of the year, but it lives so near to the poverty line that any sudden disaster like unemployment—even if temporary—accident, or sickness quickly forces it below the line.

Causes of Poverty.—As previously stated, poverty is caused largely by maladjustment of society, and the causes lie more beyond the control of the individual than within his power. While it is very difficult to trace the specific causes of poverty, the following classification will help somewhat to clear up the difficulty.

I. Objective Causes.—Those due to environment and to conditions lying outside of the individual, and to a great extent beyond his control, altho not wholly so. These constitute from 60 to 75 per cent of the causes of poverty.

1. Insufficient Natural Resources.—This includes poor soil, lack of rainfall, too cold a climate, or the inability of nature to yield to man a living. Such countries as Tibet, Scotland, Arabia, Labrador, northern Siberia, and the Sahara desert are regions which would fall under this category. Many parts of the United States yield a poor return to man, as illustrated by sections like the hilly districts of New England and the Carolinas, Arizona, and Nevada. Man is conquering many of these difficulties; he is supplying the lack of rainfall in many places by irrigation. Also systems of dry farming make it possible to raise crops with a small amount of moisture. By choice of grains regions far to the north are made productive, such as Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. This cause of poverty the ingenuity of man is continually conquering, either by compelling nature to produce almost against its will or by changing industry, like the supplanting of agriculture in New England by manufacturing and commerce.

2. Bad or Unhealthful Climatic Conditions.—This is illustrated by regions which are subject to diseases like malaria, yellow fever, cholera, hook-worm, and sleeping sickness. Such

regions as Panama, Cuba, the country near the Mississippi river, and the valley of the Amazon are examples of this. Science is slowly but surely conquering these diseases, they are becoming less dreaded, and many of these regions are made healthful, Cuba and Panama being examples.

3. Defective Government. — Turkey has probably furnished us with as good an illustration of this as any other country, for the government there has been little better than a system of legal brigandage. The rule of all ancient nations, particularly Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Persia, and Rome, in which the provinces were looked upon merely as suitable objects of plunder, are further examples of this. Bad systems of land tenure, as are found in England, Italy, Austria, and formerly in most countries of Europe, come under this heading. Governments that neglect sanitary precautions, noticeably Turkey, Italy, and most of the Slavic countries, also included. Cities which allow in their political management — and the majority of the large American cities come in here — contribute to poverty. Also legislative bodies which draft tariff schedules which put duties upon the necessities of life, like sugar, salt, wheat, and all articles needed by the poor; unwise taxation, as illustrated by the general property tax in the United States; and in fact all greed, avarice, and ignorance in government are strong factors. These conditions are slowly being remedied. Defective land tenures are being abolished. Better systems of taxation, particularly inheritance and income taxes, are supplanting the general property tax in most countries. Graft is being eliminated in our cities, altho it grips the governments in many nations, notoriously those of Turkey, China, and Japan.

4. Bad Industrial Organization. — (1) *Unemployment.* — This lies at the root of most of our social problems; for society is built upon labor and lays responsibilities upon man which can be met only with the rewards from labor. In other words we value things in terms of money, and when the power to earn this money is cut off our system breaks down. It was the old idea that anyone could obtain work who wanted it. Modern conditions have delegated this idea to the scrap-heap. One-third of the cases which came before the American charitable organizations before the war were due to unemployment. Thousands were unable to obtain work every year, altho they were not only willing to work but often

were capable and efficient workers. The supply of labor is comparatively fixed, but the demand for it fluctuates. The demand for labor results from the demand for commodities, which in turn rests upon income, which again depends upon labor. The process is an endless chain and a break in any link breaks the combination. Any uncertainty, lack of confidence, or the failure of a large concern, as well as any great calamity, throws the whole system out of gear. Unemployment is an evidence of maladjustment. Often it is merely a matter of poor distribution, and the men who are out of work in Chicago may be needed in New Orleans or in the lumber camps of the north. Yet there are seasons when work is scarce; there are slack months in every industry, such as the winter months on the farm, in the stock-yards, in railway construction, and in any line of work which is affected by the cold weather. The same is true with skilled labor; bricklayers, masons, and carpenters are out of employment more or less during the winter months. Some occupations are altogether seasonable, such as dressmaking, cotton picking, berry picking, harvesting, and any occupations which supply a demand, that lasts but a short time. In 1895 the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor, after a careful investigation, found that of the 816,470 persons engaged in gainful occupations 241,589 were in idleness for at least a portion of the year. The whole time lost was 82,744 years. Some of these people had subsidiary work, which kept them busy a part of the time thus lost; but making deductions for this, the time lost amounted to 78,717 years, or an average per person of 1.16 months a year. Yet there is no limit to the production of goods, provided the right kind of goods are produced. It is not, therefore, altogether a matter of overpopulation or too much labor, but of maladjustment of the labor to the work.

Yet all unemployed are not employable. It is noticed that the ones who are first thrown out of work are the last taken on again, and that it is the same group, which is out of work each year. As a rule, the least efficient of those employed are more efficient than the most efficient who are out of work. They are unemployed because they are inefficient, and are at the same time inefficient because unemployed. Poor wages mean insufficient food, clothes, and shelter, and so less vital energy. Also idleness brings about bad habits, such as

laziness, drinking, and gambling, and these in turn reduce one's efficiency. The whole problem is cumulative; the idler the individual is, the more inefficient he becomes, and the more inefficient, the idler. The bums in our large cities were once mostly capable and willing to work, but few of them now care for a steady job, for they have been out of work too long and have become really unemployable. As the demand for labor increases, the more efficient of the unemployed obtain work, and the most efficient laborers are busy most of the time.

Standards of efficiency have risen in late years and it is becoming harder to keep the pace. Machinery has displaced much unskilled labor and intelligence and adaptability are in demand. Yet large industries like to have extra men to draw from in time of greater need, instead of keeping a smaller number busy all the time. This has been the policy of the stockyards, which have tried to keep a line of applicants before their doors every morning. Whenever the line began to thin out, they made efforts to increase it, even to the extent of encouraging immigration. This method has been practiced by the steel mills, mines, and large factories.

Many unemployed are also unemployable because they are shiftless, unreliable, criminal, and physically or mentally defective, even when not unemployable as a result of our industrial condition. Many do not want work, but merely make the search for it an excuse, the professional tramp coming under this class. Altho this situation complicates the problem of unemployment it does not make the solution less imperative.

While unemployment is more common among union men than among non-union men, it is less destructive and so of less importance, for the union man is better able to bridge over the slack period. His wages are better when he is at work, and he is better organized and so has greater resources. Unions have unemployment, sickness, and accident benefits. The union man's bargaining power, thru collective bargaining, is greater, and so he is able to hold out for a higher wage.

Of the different classes of unemployed the following may be given among the leading ones:

(a). Those, who being engaged for short periods only, have finished one job and have not started on another; such are those dependent upon common labor. This unemploy-

ment is generally only temporary and may be classed as leakage.

(b). Those who belong to trades, like bricklaying, in which the volume of work fluctuates because of seasonable changes.

(c). Members of an occupation or trade in which there is an over-supply or members of a group for all of whom, there is not work enuf. Trade unions try to prevent this by limiting the number of apprentices.

(d). Those who because of their inefficiency cannot obtain employment, perhaps because of being in the wrong trade or having made a wrong choice.

While potentially efficient, their occasional unemployment becomes chronic, members of any of these groups may become permanently unemployable.

The question presents itself, what can we do to solve or alleviate this condition? Indiscriminate giving not only does not remedy the situation, but increases it, demoralizes industry more than ever. To find work is difficult if the condition is extended thruout numbers of people. Work may be found in the small place for the occasional person who is out of work and in need, but it is almost impossible to find work for thousands in a large city. Besides, the work should be productive and continuous. If work is provided by a city simply to give employment, very little is accomplished except to spend money, unless some well planned work is undertaken. Some relief may be given at times by starting work which has been already planned and needed, such as building a subway or digging a sewer. Commissioner Bell of New York introduced and put into operation a plan to give the news-stand licenses to the crippled, to the blind, to those who have lost limbs, and in fact to those who were unable to compete in the battle of life. The plan did not mean the crowding out of the present holders of the licenses, but the giving of preference in the future to the crippled and maimed in the issuing of new licenses when the old ones were given up and when new stands were opened. Some of the holders caught the spirit and surrendered their licenses. This method was expected to provide for about 12,000 otherwise unemployable. The labor agencies deal with this problem not in a way of solving it, but in order to profit by it. In Europe the majority of cities have municipal agencies which are generally united, being especially so in Germany before the

war, and which have dealt with this problem in a marvelously efficient manner. This has not been tried to a very great extent in the United States except during the war. Before this a number of cities had instituted municipal labor exchanges but the most of these failed because of poor management, the managers being chosen for political reasons. The national system of labor exchanges, while inefficient in places, did a wonderful work and was discontinued because of the failure of Congress to make the necessary appropriation to keep them up, that body not recognizing that a great constructive work had been begun, thinking instead that it was merely a war measure. Insurance that is met by employer, employee, and the state combined is the best method of handling the situation, for the problem affects all three. A national system of labor exchanges should be combined with such a system of insurance.

Unemployment is a cause not only of poverty but also of crime, intemperance, vice, and gambling. It breaks up families, leads to divorce, causes child labor, forces women into industry, and lowers wages. If unemployment is done away with or reduced to a minimum, these problems as well as others will be reduced.

At the beginning of the great war in 1914 the amount of unemployment in the United States was unusually large, thousands being thrown out of employment in all our large cities. Everywhere it was recognized that the war would bring increased industrial prosperity to the country, but few knew just where it would come; so everybody waited and factories and large industries laid off their employees and undertook little new work.

After a while the demand for commodities as a result of the war materialized and the slack was taken up and there developed a shortage of labor, and a condition just the opposite to the former one developed. This was increased when the United States went into the war and began to draft men from industry. While the government did its best not to disturb industry more than it could help, there immediately arose a surplus of jobs and a scarcity of workers. So great became the shortage of help and so long its duration that we almost began to accept it as a natural condition. Instead of immigrants crowding our shores we began to experience emigration. Women went into industry in the endeavor to fill this gap, also because of the attraction of large wages.

After the war was over and our soldiers returned the shortage of workers prevailed because the demand for goods continued to exceed the supply. The war had destroyed so many commodities and had postponed purchases of ordinary articles to such an extent that industry could not fill the demand and the shortage of labor continued. Immigration did not come back in its former volume, possibly being checked because of the literacy test and high prices of transportation, but still more likely by the change in conditions in Europe. We are gradually catching up with the extraordinary demand for goods and it seems to be only a question of time till we return to something like our old condition of surplus of labor, altho the change in our immigration laws may keep down our surplus of labor to some extent.

(2). *Low Wages.* — We have already considered in connection with family budgets the problem of low wages in its relation to the family. The question might be brot up here of the ethics of low wages. The usual answer given is that the person receives a low wage because he or she produces little. Yet wages depend very slightly upon productivity. The product of labor fixes the upper limit of wages, never the lower. That is set by competition or regulated by supply and demand. As a rule big business is organized and does very little competing. If labor is abundant wages are low; if scarce wages are higher. Some industries make no pretense of paying all a person is worth to them but depend upon a surplus of labor, and so give as little as possible, often paying a person with dependents a wage too low to support even one person. The department store is notorious for this. Also cotton mills, especially in the South, woolen mills, silk mills, and candy factories are great offenders. Many states are attempting to set minimum wage standards for different industries — in 1917 twelve states had passed minimum wage laws — the most of these states have commissions which set a minimum wage for each industry. A number of industries, particularly those employing large numbers of women, as the department stores, candy factories, and laundries, have been investigated by these commissions and minimum wages set. The question arises as to whether it is ethically just for any industry to be allowed to be a parasite, as the department store has been for some time. It is often discussed as to whether society has the right to allow a great department store to go on piling up millions

in profits for the founder's descendants, who do absolutely nothing towards earning them, at the expense of the poor employees in the store, who are not in a position to force their wages up. A person who labors and who is actually productive and efficient is entitled to a living. Yet thousands do not receive it. The wage of the day laborer in the past has not been sufficient to support a family; in fact the wage of the unskilled laborer in general has not allowed the worker any margin at all, often not even a decent living wage. The wages in many industries, including the sweated industries, have not permitted a decent living, to say nothing of comforts. Is it right for society to allow such conditions? Practically the only way of dealing with such a situation is by means of a minimum wage law. If such a law were correctly drawn and rigidly enforced and supported by public opinion, the condition would right itself. If the work was necessary, the workers would become trained and efficient; then they would receive living wages. If this increased the cost of manufactured and retailed products, all well and good, for then the people who enjoyed the fruits of the labor would pay for it. Trade schools to teach efficiency would then be in demand and would help to solve the problem.

Again as a result of war conditions causing the scarcity of labor as indicated above has tended to raise wages. In many industries they went up even more than increased prices. In many they just kept pace with the increase in prices and in others they did not keep up at all. This depended upon the demand for the products of these industries. Wages are generally slower to rise than prices and salaries slower to fall when prices come down. Just now it is too early to predict just what will happen when we return to normal conditions but in all probability it will be some time before we return to the desperately low wages that formerly prevailed in some industries, if we ever do.

(3). *Irregularity of Employment and Seasonable Work.*— Under this heading would come the English dock laborers who work night and day when shipping is brisk and go for days and weeks without work when no ships come in. If industry were properly organized, such irregularity in work would be reduced to a minimum. These seasonable workers would dove-tail into other seasonable occupations. If this is impossible, wages should be high enuf to enable the workers to live.

(4). *Immobility of Labor.*—Of all commodities labor is the most immobile; this fact adds to its poor bargaining position. The higher grade the labor, the easier it is for the laborer to move, for he has the reserve power produced by greater intelligence and higher wages. The man with a small income is ordinarily unable to move even if he knows that there is work to be had in another place.

(5). *Unhealthful and Dangerous Occupations.*—In 1912 10,585 persons were killed and 169,528 persons injured by the railroads of the United States; four-fifths of these people were employees of the railroads. In 1913 33,787 employees were killed and 172,783 injured. While railroading can never be made absolutely safe, it kills and injures far too many. The same is true of mining. Many occupations are dangerous to the health of its workers; the making of matches was especially so till the use of poisonous phosphate was forbidden in their manufacture. Glass plants, lead industries, steel mills, and many kinds of factories offer hazards to life. Others, which are not dangerous, are frequently unhealthful to the lives of their workers; among these might be mentioned the cigar factories, cotton mills, and telephone exchanges. Modern laws more and more compel the employers to protect their employees from dangerous machinery; they force laundries to put guards upon the mangles so that the fingers of the operators will not be caught and crushed, and companies to cover up belts and place guards around dangerous machinery. Forcing the railroads to use air brakes and coupling devices that do not menace the fingers of the brakemen are regulations along this line. Unnecessary risks are being eliminated more and more by the making and enforcing of such laws. Disasters like the Triangle Shirt Company fire in New York, the Eastland disaster in Chicago river, the Iroquois theatre fire, and the burning of the "General Slocum", in which hundreds of children were either burned or drowned, have forcibly brot the need of safety provisions and the enforcement of regulations before the public and after every great disaster we find a rush to prevent any similar disasters in the future. When the attention of the public is brot to such dangers, public sentiment is generally created to a degree strong enuf to compel the proper legislation. As industry speeds up, dangers increase, but the increase in watchfulness probably keeps pace with it. This condition

cannot be prevented but can be held to a minimum by proper watchfulness.

5. Changes in Industry. — (1). *New Machinery.* — The industrial revolution in England caused untold misery. It threw thousands out of employment, reduced wages, and caused privation and misery on every hand. The invention of any new machine or improved method which enables one person to do the work formerly requiring several throws men out of employment and thus causes poverty. After a time industry readjusts itself and a better condition results. The improved machine produces more and lowers prices; the lower price increases demand for the commodity; greater consumption increases the demand for labor. But the temporary readjustment causes misery.

(2). *New Styles.* — Varying styles bring about changes in trade, narrow skirts caused a smaller demand for cloth than usual and compelled the quick return to wider skirts in order that the manufacturers might not lose money. The chief difficulty in this case was that so many women instead of buying new skirts merely cut down their old ones. The unpopularity of the bicycle caused the bicycle industry to go to the wall. Later the automobile filled this gap, but as a result of the growth of the automobile business the wagon industry suffered. Even reforms sometimes disturb conditions; prohibition, for example, decreased the demand for bottles and barrels and caused some unemployment until industry readjusted itself. This was possibly more noticeable in local option days when a town went dry than when the whole nation adopted prohibition for there was an uncertainty as to the future. The adoption of national prohibition came at a very fortunate time when the extra demand quickly absorbed the slack and there was very little unemployment.

(3). *Changes in the Value of Money.* — When prices fall and money becomes more valuable, it causes the debtor class to suffer. On the other hand a sudden rise in prices makes life harder on the working man, for wages are always slower to rise than the prices of commodities, and while the laborer is compelled to pay more for food, clothing, rent, and common necessities, his pay envelope for a long time is no fatter.

(4). *Changes in Tariff Schedules.* — Putting a tariff on a commodity immediately raises its price, whether the article is imported or not, for prices are based more upon the ability to command than upon the cost of production. Taking a

tariff off an article often forces industries out of business, thus causing unemployment and suffering. The building up of the sugar industry in the United States is a good example of an industry fostered by a protective tariff. When the tariff on sugar was removed, this industry was threatened with ruin.

(5). *Any Great Disturbance in Industry.*—Such a disturbance was caused in the United States in 1914 by the war in Europe. Even tho we profited by it financially because it furnished us a new market, it caused distress until we could readjust our industry to new conditions. After the abnormal conditions produced by the war are over the readjustment to normal times will cause a similar depression, only this time it may be more serious because it will be a contraction instead of an expansion. Any readjustment in industry brings hardship to some.

6. *Defects in Educational System.*—Illiterate and uneducated persons are at a disadvantage in life's struggle. An educational system which does not reach all is at fault; also an educational system which does not train for life is a cause of dependence. Lack of industrial training and of teaching of trades is a noticeable defect in our present educational system. The teaching of manual training is an attempt to remedy this situation, and should be extended. Free public instruction should extend to all kinds of professional and industrial training, as well as cultural training. The Gary system, combining all forms of education, is one method of dealing with this problem. Poor education is one cause of poverty which we can easily deal with; it is one which the American people, eager to remedy it, are grappling with now. School medical inspection and school lunches are among the recent methods of attacking the problem.

7. *Defective Courts and Punitive Machinery.*—If Courts are corrupt or inefficient, laws are not obeyed. Then, too, if the punitive machinery is defective and court sentences are not carried out, laws are disregarded. This means that preventive legislation will not be enforced, that the strong will prey upon the weak, and that misery and distress will be increased. There has not been much question of the integrity of the American courts, altho such cannot be said of the legal machinery of many countries, especially China and Turkey. There has, however, been great complaint of the inefficiency of our courts. Decisions are often not handed

down till all interested in the case are dead and buried and the whole matter lost sight of by everyone except the lawyers. Appeal can be taken so easily that cases often become mere matters of who have the deepest pocket-books. The poor man in the lower court often receives only the mere pretence of justice, cases involving the future of men receiving from ten to thirty seconds time, in some cases the defendant, especially if he is an immigrant, being given no chance at defense. This causes a disrespect for law and a hatred of society. The introduction of the public defender is a great reform in this way, especially in compelling employers to pay workers and in forcing those indebted to poor persons to settle, this being accomplished in most cases by a letter from the public defender.

8. Defective Sanitation. — We mentioned this under government, but poor sanitation is also due to other reasons than defective government. It may be the result of ignorance, neglect, or poor location. It is one of the most frequent causes of sickness, and so is a great producer of poverty.

9. Degenerate or Bad Surroundings. — Living near a degenerate neighborhood or where one does not come into contact with real industry and enterprise is an indirect cause of poverty, for no real enthusiasm is engendered and one becomes discouraged, feeling that life is of no use. This is especially true if one lives among thieves and grafters, for one feels that it is useless to work or save; such a condition is especially destructive in its influence upon children.

10. Social Institutions, Such as Treating. — The habit of drinking was formerly an excellent illustration. A person would go into a saloon to get a glass of beer, but meeting friends while there, he would because of treating drink six or eight glasses and spend, instead of five cents, as he intended, possibly fifty cents before he would go out.

11. Immigration. — By increasing the supply of labor without causing a proportionate increase in the demand for commodities immigration upsets the balance between supply and demand for labor, and so lowers wages — or keeps them from rising — and throws many out of employment. This was a cause of poverty in the United States in the past and will be again in the future if the immigrant wave again sets in. This cause was made manifest by the immediate jump in wages when immigration stopped and emigration set in as a result of the great war.

12. Accidents, Other Than Those Caused by Dangerous Occupations. — These decrease the earnings, increase expenses, and hence often throw below the poverty line families which otherwise would be able to stay above. The loss of the bread winner of the family may break up the family. This problem is met in European countries like Germany, and England by sickness and accident insurance which is compulsory and which is generally paid partly by the employer, partly by the employee, and partly by the state. This is one instance where the United States lags behind Europe in social development.

13. Unwise Giving and Indiscriminate Charity. — Especially defective has been a large part of the charity of the churches. To them giving has been the chief thing and, being ignorant of how to give, they have in all probability caused more poverty than they have prevented. Unwise systems of relief increase poverty; such was the old English method of supplementing the wages, for this method of making up the difference between the wage received and a living wage puts a premium upon low wages. Unwise giving removes the incentive to work and kills the spirit of independence. Giving to a beggar simply in order to get rid of him or because his condition touches a sympathetic chord is probably the worst thing we could do for him. If the beggar is successful, he will choose begging as an occupation because it is more lucrative than working. Giving to a family without careful investigation often causes the family to cease to be independent and to depend entirely upon charity in the future. It has been noticed in Chicago that once a family receives help from the city it never ceases to receive it, but remains on the list. If one family thus succeeds in getting help, all its neighbors want it too, even if they have previously been independent. Giving in general, except in cases of dire need, is more injurious than helpful, especially if this giving is rendered without careful investigation and without the requiring of some form of service in return. The average person is more in need of an opportunity to earn a living that he is of relief.

II. Subjective Causes of Poverty. — By subjective causes we mean those originating within the person. These form from 25 to 40 per cent of the causes of poverty and are not so important as formerly considered. They are of course mixed up with the objective causes, often being results

of objective causes and often likewise underlying them. In fact it is seldom possible to separate them entirely, but the following are generally considered the most important of the subjective causes.

1. Disease, Sickness, and Poor Health. — In his *"Misery and Its Causes"* Devine asserts that three-fourths of all persons coming before charitable organizations for aid are in need of medical attention in some form or other or are affected by sickness in some way. As we have noticed, some of this sickness is caused by dangerous occupations and insanitary surroundings and so is almost outside of the control of the individual. This condition is also caused by malnutrition, which renders the body susceptible to disease and sickness. This is especially true of children. It has been noted that about 20 per cent of the children in the public schools of our cities do not receive food sufficient in quality or quantity, and as a result they are unable to do the required school work. The same fact is true in regard to all work, for to be efficient one must be in good physical condition. Formerly sickness was thought to be a plague or punishment sent by God. Now it is looked upon as a result of maladjustment and irrational living. Chronic diseases cause much poverty by increasing expense and decreasing the income. Even common diseases like measles, whooping cough, and grippe cause much poverty, not only by increasing the expense but by throwing the parents out of work thru quarantine and because of looking after the sick ones. Moreover, the death rate from measles and whooping cough is very high, especially among children, often exceeding that of dreaded diseases like small-pox; but because of the commonness of them we do not fear them and often take no pains to prevent their spreading. Corporations are realizing the economic loss brought to themselves as well as to their employees and their families thru illness; so they are hiring company doctors, establishing hospitals, and more important still hiring visiting nurses, who not only nurse the sick but teach the mothers to cook better and to keep the home in a more sanitary condition, thus increasing the efficiency of the workers. Dispensaries and free hospitals are provided by cities for the same purpose. Science is slowly conquering the various diseases by finding cures for them, as for example the treating of typhoid fever, diphtheria, and whooping cough by means of anti-toxins; the cure for hookworm; modern scientific treatment for tuberculosis; the dis-

covery of "606" as a cure for syphilis; and the discovery of cures for typhus and yellow fevers. If these treatments are placed within the reach of the poor thru free hospitals and dispensaries and the spread of the knowledge of hygiene by means of visiting nurses is carried on, the importance of sickness as a cause of poverty will be diminished. It will not only decrease poverty but increase efficiency. In other words the policy of the future in regard to this must be to have the very best medical treatment within the reach of all, then teach people to live so as not to have to use it. This, one of the greatest and most far-reaching causes of poverty, is now being dealt with in a correct manner—that is, of prevention, in addition to the relief of present sickness.

2. Shiftlessness and Laziness.—From 10 to 15 per cent of poverty is generally attributed to shiftlessness, but if we go deeply enuf into the matter we usually find some cause for shiftlessness. Nevertheless we find people who are too indolent to replace broken window panes, too sluggish to harvest their crops after they have ripened, and in fact too lazy to do anything which is not absolutely required of them. As a result they are continually in trouble and as soon as misfortune comes in are in distress. This trait seems to go in families, and so we find degenerate and worthless families which cost their communities thousands of dollars. These are the people, as a rule, who have large families, which of course they are not able to support. Laziness is very often due to undervitalization, caused by poor food and poor living conditions. Sometimes sickness or disease is a source of this trouble; the hook-worm, for example, causes much of the indolence of the poor whites of the South and robs them of their vitality. Malaria has the same effect. Fighting these diseases and thus removing the cause is the only apparent way of eliminating this condition. As for lack of energy and ambition, unless it is caused by undervitalization and illness, we have no solution except possibly by means of some kind of stimulus. In individual cases spurring on can be done by means of an appeal to pride or by increasing the desires, as is some times done with negroes by the display of attractive goods in shop windows. Industrial concerns in the South have obtained results by establishing company stores which display all manner of finery, thus stimulating a desire to work.

3. Poor Judgment. — This is closely akin to the preceding cause, only it appears to be more hopeless. Some people seem to have the ability to decide wisely in their undertakings, to choose the right path, to buy the most economical things, to decide upon what is cheapest and best in the long run, to choose their careers with the final goal in sight. Others seem to have just the opposite ability — if we may be allowed to call it that; they are always being swindled, always getting the worst of the bargain, always getting left, and always having a tale of woe to tell. Some are always having bad luck, continually meeting with accidents, and constantly getting sick. They are the ones who lose their positions, pay the highest prices for things, and never know how to economize, and so are never able to save. Sometimes when they do chance to reach the brink of success, they change their mind and sacrifice all they have gained. In short, the world seems to be full of fools, who become the victims of those endowed with better intelligence. While this characteristic is of course inherited, we occasionally see in the same family one member who is always "lucky" and another who is always "unfortunate". One has good judgment, and the other poor judgment. Apparently this whole condition is without remedy, except that judgment can be trained to some extent if the attempt is begun early enough in life. It is a matter of the home and home training.

4. Intemperance, Bad Habits, Etc. — The use of alcohol has been one of the greatest causes of poverty that we have had, about 25 per cent of all cases being chargeable to it and at least 50 per cent of poverty indirectly the result of it. Yet this same poverty is attributable to other sources. It, like unemployment and sickness, is cumulative and reflexive. Intemperance increases poverty, causes poorer families, necessitates less desirable home and poorer food. These accelerate the desire for liquor, and the further drinking of liquor increases poverty. Poverty drives to drink just as drink drives to poverty. Drink reduces efficiency, which reduces income, which increases poverty, which increases the temptation to drink, and so it goes on, forming an endless chain. The use of opium and morphine, Copenhagen snuff, cocaine, and all forms of drugs has the same effect. For this cause we have tried in the United States several methods of procedure, such as high licenses, local option, and the dispensary system, and at last have come to the true and only

logical solution, prohibition. Other countries are still grappling with the problem. We have likewise forbidden the sale of most of the injurious drugs. With this cause removed it will be much easier to reach some of the other causes; low wages, unemployment, sickness, immorality, crime, neglect, and desertion.

5. Immorality. — This is a great occasion of degeneracy and poverty. In such studies as those made of the Jukes, Kallikak, and Nam Families we find immorality and intemperance going hand in hand, holding these families down to a state of poverty and degeneracy. Immorality weakens vitality and efficiency and so decreases earnings. It again is joined with other causes, such as poor judgment and intemperance, and is a result of poverty as well as a cause. On account of the nature of this source of poverty it is next to impossible to make any really accurate estimate of its importance.

6. Old Age. — On the face of it old age would appear to be a very large cause of poverty, but upon examination we find that it is relatively unimportant. When a person becomes old, his dependants have, as a rule, grown up, and nearly always there are relatives to care for the aged ones, if they have no means of support of their own. European countries, especially England, France, and Germany, handle this problem by means of old pensions or old age insurance, and it is possibly only a question of time till we do the same in this country. We generally do care for the aged poor, but in a shabby manner. This cause can never be removed, altho it can be lessened by increasing the opportunity for saving; also by proper systems of insurance its bad effects can be eliminated. It is a comparatively easy matter to deal with as compared with some others.

7. Neglect and Desertion by Husband and Relatives. — These figure in from 5 to 10 per cent of the causes of destitution. They are especially important and at the same time unfortunately too common, particularly when the children are young. The time when the children are too small to help is the time when it is the hardest to support the family, and hence neglect occurs because of selfishness or necessity. Also too many fathers become discouraged at their inability to support the family and desert them, thus only increasing the problem. It is difficult to remedy this situation. Attempts are sometimes made to bring back the deserting fathers and compel them to support the family, and also

to compel parents to look after their children. But relief is usually the only thing possible: helping the mother to hold the family together and sometimes removing the children from the home, when the home is hopeless. This condition is also the result of other causes, particularly intemperance, immorality, low wages, and crime. Not only neglect of children by their parents but neglect of parents by their children is quite common in America because of the breaking down of patriarchal authority and the lessening of parental respect.

8. Crime and Dishonesty. — Not only are persons made unemployable by dishonesty and crime, and so unable to provide for their families, but, when a person is sentenced to prison, his family is often left destitute. Moreover, when the prisoner is discharged it is extremely difficult for him to get work again. The modern system of paroling and finding work before the parole is granted is dealing with the problem in the correct manner. Also public opinion is changing somewhat in regard to the employment of an ex-convict, because belief in reformation is gradually being adopted. Then, too, we are becoming more altruistic and are more willing to give a man another chance. Dishonesty will always, and probably always should, stand in the way of success.

9. Ignorance, Other Than Lack of Education. — This is closely akin to poor judgment, yet has a slightly different aspect. We find people who simply do not know how to do things and who never are able to learn to do anything except as they are directed. This is not necessarily feeble-mindedness, for very often the person has normal intellect but simply does not know how to go about things. The person with poor judgment may be very industrious and may accomplish things, and then spoil it all by poor decisions. But the inefficient person simply is not able to produce much; so he earns little. Ignorance on the part of wives in household matters comes in here: ignorance of methods of running a house, planning a well-balanced diet, buying economically; ignorance of hygiene, of the proper care of the sick, and of the rearing of children. Also under this heading comes ignorance of a person's own condition, such as found in the case of the Georgia "cracker". Improvement of the environment alleviates this condition by bringing such people into contact with efficiency and knowledge.

10. Large Families. — Formerly large families were considered assets, because as soon as the children outgrew the

period of infancy they were trained to help add to the food supply, and as they grew older they contributed to the defense as well as the support of the family. This was true in America down thru colonial times and in later days on the frontier as long as free or cheap land was available. After we began to settle down to our present manner of living, there was no longer productive work for the children to do. Then again our ideas in regard to education of children and to child labor have changed. Now instead of being assets, children are liabilities and a source of added expense. Therefore as the size of the family grows the strain increases in proportion. Whereas a family might remain independent if there were only two or three children, it frequently is unable to do so when the number increases to eight or ten. This fact has grown more important with the increased cost of bearing and rearing children.

11. War, Famine, and Disaster.—The World War caused endless poverty as well as untold suffering and misery. This not only is true for the present time, but it will be felt for generations to come. While the effects of war have been most severely felt in those countries which were overrun by the armies, especially by the armies of the central powers,—particularly Poland, Serbia, Armenia, Belgium, and northern France—war affected all the nations engaged in the struggle. It took away, killed, and crippled millions of bread-winners, bringing in destruction and often starvation. Property lying in the track of the armies was destroyed and industries were shattered, even thousands of miles away from the actual fighting, thru the destruction of markets. The fighting nations piled up debts which will mean heavy taxes for years, in fact for generations to come. While these are abnormal causes, the World War alone will be a source of poverty for the next hundred years at least.

As we have seen, we find that ordinarily instead of there being one cause of destitution there are several; we find also that these causes go hand in hand, one prompting a second, and it in turn bringing on another. Unemployment leads to intemperance, which may result in crime. Sickness may reduce one's efficiency; lack of efficiency may bring on unemployment, and so on. We find that laziness and shiftlessness are frequently caused by undervitalization, which itself may be the result of sickness or poor food. Both of these may be the consequence of ignorance or poor judgment. Ignorance

may be due to the person's being compelled to go to work too early in life. This necessity may be the result of the death of the father thru an accident caused by the danger of the occupation. The danger of the occupation may be due to the lack of legislation caused by the graft in politics or to the inefficiency of the courts in neglecting to enforce the laws. Unemployment may be due to a change in industry, a change in style, immobility of labor, or some great upheaval of industry; or it may be a temporary condition caused by the seasonableness of trade. Not only is it absolutely impossible to single out any one cause of poverty, but it is impossible to find any cause which is not connected with some other cause. Poverty is cumulative; poverty breeds poverty. The majority of the poor are held down in poverty as ruthlessly and arbitrarily as if there were some ironclad rule or law forbidding them to emerge from their condition.

Causes of Poverty; Also Results of Poverty. — Moreover, these conditions which we have noted are not only causes of poverty, but are also results of poverty. Poverty makes one inefficient; unemployment follows. Poverty makes the home unattractive; the saloon and drunkenness resulted. Poverty lowers one's bargaining position; low wages and irregularity of work are consequent. Poverty prevents the laborer from moving to a place where work can be had. Poverty will not allow one to take time to learn a new trade when a change in style or a new machine deprives him of the old trade. Poverty prevents the child of the very poor from being able to receive the full benefit of the school. Lack of money compels the poor man to live in an insanitary and undesirable neighborhood. Poverty encourages indiscriminate living. Poor nutrition, caused by poverty, makes one less able to escape accident, increasing the chance of one's falling into dangerous machinery. Poverty prevents the employment of good doctors and nurses in case of sickness, as well as precautions necessary to avoid illness. Poverty forces women into prostitution as well as being a result of immorality. Poverty causes family discord and desertion, also crime and dishonesty. Ignorance is likewise traceable to poverty, as well as being the cause of it. Even defective government may be the result of the government falling into the hands of the rich and powerful; the poor being too weak to rise or protest, are ground down under the feet of the mighty. The same is true of defective courts and punitive machinery. Laboring

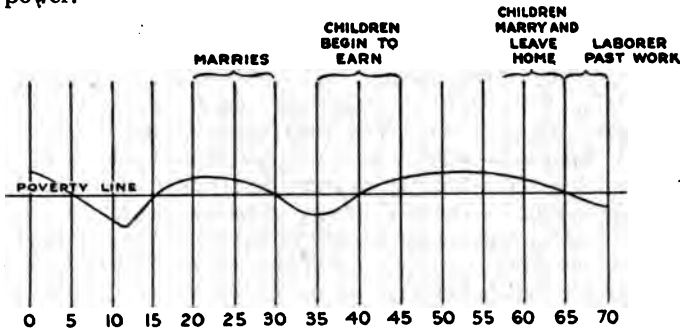
men receive far greater consideration in our courts since the unions have become strong; even decisions of the Supreme Court are much more favorable towards them. It is only human nature to despise the weak and instead of helping them to kick them still lower down. People may be too poor not only to profit by the educational system but even to demand such a system, this being the condition in many countries even today. Bad climatic conditions and insufficient natural resources may be endured because the people are too poor to overcome or move away from them. In fact it is almost impossible to find a cause of poverty which is not also a result of it. This condition accounts for the diversity of views in regard to the causes of poverty and remedies for it. This is the reason why it is so exceedingly difficult to make an accurate and scientific study of poverty. The more definite and clear one becomes, the farther he strays from the real truth of the situation. This is also one reason why sociology is not always the easy subject that some imagine it to be.

This complexity may be illustrated by the disabilities found as causes of destitution in the cases of 5000 families needing aid in New York City.¹

<i>Disability—</i>	<i>Individuals Affected</i>	<i>Families</i>	
		<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Ct.</i>
1. Unemployment	4424	3458	69.16
2. Overcrowding	----	2014	44.68
3. Widowhood	----	1472	29.3
4. Chronic physical disability.....	1603	1365	27.3
5. Temporary physical disability (accident and child-birth excepted).....	1158	984	19.68
6. More than 3 children under 14 years	----	944	18.88
7. Intemperance	1000	833	16.67
8. Less than 5 years in New York City	----	814	16.28
9. Tuberculosis	675	619	12.38
10. Desertion and persistent non-support.....	----	606	12.12
11. Head of family 60 years or older.....	----	599	11.98
12. Laziness, shiftlessness	667	588	11.76
13. Child-birth	363	363	7.26
14. Rheumatism	359	347	6.94
15. Immorality	337	256	5.12
16. Mental disease, defects, or deficiencies	267	248	4.96
17. Cruelty, abuse	229	221	4.42
18. Accident	201	198	3.96
19. Untruthfulness, unreliability	210	194	3.88
20. Criminal record	161	151	3.02
21. Violent or irritable temper.....	148	140	2.80
22. Waywardness of children	160	129	2.58
23. Disposition to beg	134	117	2.34
24. Child labor (general, not illegal).....	85	42	.84
25. Gambling	22	22	.44

¹Devine, E. T., "*Misery and Its Causes*", p. 204.

Rowntree¹ gives us the following interesting diagram as to the times in life when one is the most apt to sink below the poverty line. It will be noticed that there are three periods: first in childhood, if the parents are poor; next in the prime of life, if there are several children who thus increase the burden; and last in old age, when one loses his earning power.



Other Effects of Poverty. — In addition to the results of poverty given above, along with the causes the following are some of the effects of poverty. These might be called different phases of the problem, but because they are natural outgrowths of poverty we shall take them up as consequences. Each of these might be considered as a problem in itself. But they are all lineal descendants of mother poverty.

Child Labor. — In 1900 1,750,000 children were employed in the United States. Since then most states have passed child labor laws. Because so much of child labor is illegal, it is difficult to find reliable statistics for the present time. Estimates range between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 for 1916-1917. Much of this is allowed thru the lax enforcement of the child labor laws and because of defects in these laws, especially in the Southern states.

Child labor has arisen largely since the introduction of machinery. Before that time the child worked at home, where it received the training of the parents, who took pride in its work and stimulated a spirit of emulation in the child. The child was looked after and seldom was worked beyond its endurance. With the introduction of machinery the attitude changed, and the chief consideration became not the

¹Rowntree, B. S., "*Poverty, a Study of Town Life*", p. 13.

child's welfare but the amount of product, because this determined the profit. With the coming of the Industrial Revolution in the latter part of the eighteenth century children were in demand for work in the factories of England. Because of the existing sentiment against this and because of the stigma put upon the "factory girl" it was extremely difficult to get sufficient children to run the factories, and the people of England did not respond until forced to it by starvation. The mill owners filled their factories from the workhouses; traffickers in children appeared and children were sold almost like slaves. Of course no wages were paid and the children were given the poorest of food and the scantiest of clothing; in fact thousands were practically starved. Children were so cheap that it did not pay to feed them well; it was cheaper to replace them. These children, some as young as eight and ten years of age, were worked to the limit of their endurance, the working day generally being sixteen hours. If the children gave out before quitting time, they were revived either with the lash or by being dipped in a tub of water. Sometimes they were shackled to prevent their running away. Of course the death rate was high, but the parishes were glad thus to get rid of their poor children. By the Act of 1802 the hours were reduced to twelve and employers were required to provide for the clothing, education, and religious training of the children, if education and instruction can be imagined under such conditions. This act did not apply to children working "under the supervision of their parents". As a result the system of pauper apprenticeship was broken up, because it was cheaper to hire children than to comply with the provisions of this troublesome law. Wages had already been forced down and adults employed only on condition that they bring a child or two. In the meantime the hand industries had been driven out of business by the cheaper machine made goods; so the workers had to come to terms of the owners. These free children, sent by their parents, were treated almost as brutally as under the old system and were often cruelly beaten, but the parents were not in a position to object. So much for the introduction of child labor. Our present problem is merely a survival of this condition amid new surroundings. Child labor is possible and profitable largely because of machine production, which makes it economical to employ children and possible for them to do the work which had been or which otherwise would be done by adults.

There are a number of industries which are the heaviest employers of children. Probably the worst offenders in the United States are the cotton mills of the South; it is argued by the owners that because they give work they better the condition of the people. But the hours are long—the ten-hour day prevailing; the children are employed to run high speed machinery, and they are often so small that they are compelled to climb upon the machines to tend them. The age limit is so low in all the Southern states, fourteen years being high among them, and many states allow children even younger to work. In addition, because of poor enforcement of the laws thousands below the legal limits are employed. It is argued in defense that the families need the money; under the present scale of wages they possibly do.

The glass industry is another offender. The factories are located in small towns near some ready fuel supply such as natural gas. Because of being located in small towns and because of the ease in moving, conditions are allowed which otherwise might not be tolerated. The owners threaten to move to another town, a thing which can easily be done, as the equipment required is not much. In order to retain the factories the towns do not enforce the child labor laws. In these factories the children are employed to carry bottles to and from the ovens, and are kept constantly on the trot. Adults are not quick enuf to do this. Investigators have figured that on an average the boy travels twenty-two miles during the working day or night, running to and from the oven with his loads of bottles. He received for this before the war from sixty cents to one dollar a day. The work is very injurious, especially in winter on the night shift, for the boys leave their hot work to go out into the bitter cold of the early morning, and fall easy victims to pneumonia and grippe. The glare also affects the eyes, and if the boys work on the night shift it is extremely difficult for them to sleep during the day; so they get insufficient rest. Then the moral effect is bad, for the surroundings are generally not what they should be.

The mines, especially the anthracite coal mines of Pennsylvania, are other bad transgressors. They employ the boys as breaker boys, whose work it is amid the dust to pick slate from the coal as it slides by. The lungs become filled with dust, the hands become bruised, and the boy becomes bent with the work and stunted for life. He does not get an

education but graduates instead into the mines, where he becomes a door boy or mule driver.* The cigar factories are somewhat the same, altho here the work is not hard; here both boys and girls work in an atmosphere highly charged with nicotine. This bad air generally brings on tuberculosis or stunts the body for life.

The canning industry employs much child labor. The condition in the oyster and shrimp canneries is especially bad. Children begin work as early as at four or five years of age and work long hours, sometimes as many as fifteen hours a day. Because their parents work with them conditions are not so bad as in some industries, the children seldom being abused, but the attitude of these parents seems strange to us; the majority of them are immigrants; they look upon their children as assets and expect them to help to support the family, not considering an education as necessary for them. The children work for their parents, so it is difficult to reach them except thru the school laws, for they are not on the lists of workers. A child of seven was able to make before the war from ten to twenty-five cents a day; one from eight to ten years of age about fifty cents a day, and one from twelve to fourteen often as high as one dollar a day. But the best of adults seldom made over one dollar, so there is no outlook. This work is seasonable, but at the end of the season the families are generally moved to the berry fields for the rest of the year. Because the most of these canneries are located in the South, where school laws are very lax, these children receive little if any education. Moreover in the berry season in New Jersey schools are not in session, for it is then vacation. Some companies make a farce of providing school, requiring the children to work four hours, attend school half a day, then work four hours more. It can be imagined how much education will be acquired.

Other industries employ children, but these mentioned are some of the larger employers. Then in addition there are home workers—children who work for their parents in the sweated industries, even tiny children, scarcely more than babies, helping their parents in making beads, artificial flowers and feathers, in picking out bastings, and in doing whatever their little fingers are able to do. Conditions are not quite so bad as in factories, because the children are working with their parents; yet the most of these parents do not have the high standards that we are accustomed to. The children

receive no wages and usually are under school age or work after school hours, and they cannot be reached by any child labor law.

Two of the most demoralizing occupations for children are the messenger service and the selling of papers. One-third of the boys sent to the John Worthy School in Chicago are newsboys and one-third of these are below the normal in physique. The work keeps the boys on the street for long hours. They are under a constant strain and become old for their years. They also become accustomed to the life of the streets far too early in life. The occupation leads nowhere and unfits them for life. The messenger boy is still worse off, for often he works in the "red light" districts. Here he not only comes into close contact with vice and so generally becomes infected with the venereal diseases, but encounters great temptation to dishonesty. Tips are larger, persons are more careless, and it is easy to keep the change or to overcharge. The messenger trade, like that of the newsboy, leads nowhere and unfits for life. Formerly the bootblack belonged to the same class, but the Greek bootblack stands have put the native boys out of business; there is tho a great deal of child labor in this business for boys are imported from Greece often at an illegal age.

The moral effect of all child labor is demoralizing, even when the work itself is not hard. The labor is generally unskilled and the association is usually with coarse, uneducated persons, where the language heard is vulgar, profane, and obscene; frequently the minds are early polluted. The child never fully develops; he early becomes discouraged and prematurely old, for as Ruskin says, "To be a man too soon is to be a small man", both mentally and physically. The vitality of life is used up too early and he who enters industry too soon is, in turn, too quickly thrown upon the scrap heap. This also cripples the succeeding generations. A good illustration of the effect of the system was furnished at the time of the Boer War, when the physique of the population of England was so poor that England could not fill her armies sufficiently to fight that little nation and as a result had to lower the physical requirements for admission into the army. Child labor takes work away from parents and often in this way demoralizes the family life, for instead of a man's supporting his family he is compelled to let his family support him. It keeps wages down, for the adult has to compete with

the child. Labor unions oppose it for this reason. Parents get accustomed to depending upon the earnings of their children and hence lose their parental love and devotion. It is unnecessary for industry, for there are enuf adults to do the work. It is unnecessary for the family, for if it were done away with wages would rise. It prevents improvements in machinery, for it removes the incentive for invention. Machines have been invented to do the work performed by the boys in glass factories, but it is cheaper to hire boys, so the machines are not installed. Other machines could be invented to do much of the work now performed by children. It is not necessary for the industries in question, for the ones employing children generally pay high dividends, especially the Southern cotton mills and the coal mines of Pennsylvania. In fact practically all the industries could get along just as well without child labor. But probably the most important of all is the effect upon the nation of using up its supply of labor too early in life. It is like harvesting crops before they are ripe, cutting timber when it is too small, or killing cattle when they are calves, only the effect is far more damaging. It is using up future resources. It is uneconomical and dangerous to our civilization. As mentioned before, most states have child labor laws and many of these are good ones and are well enforced. Others, mostly Southern states, have poor ones or have lax enforcement, and these states profit at the expense of those having efficient laws. What we need is a national child labor law. Several attempts have been made to get such a law, but they have been declared unconstitutional because contrary to clauses in our constitution which are remnants of the old individualistic idea of society. We need either a law which will avoid this difficulty or an amendment to our constitution; otherwise, states which are careless or have not developed a high moral sense of responsibility will always profit at the expense of those who have developed a higher social conscience. Until we can get such a law need we better state laws, and still more important, strict enforcement of them thru proper inspection and penalties.

Women in Industry. — By this subject we do not mean the entry of the unmarried woman into industry or the following of a career or profession as such. What we mean is the entry of the married woman into industry, not for the purpose of a career or because she prefers it to house-

work, but out of necessity — the necessity of supplementing the income of her husband. In this way the entrance of woman into industry resembles child labor in many ways. It causes the wife to neglect the home and children. It makes it impossible to supply the family with proper food and attention. The children are neglected and forced upon the streets. If the wife tries to keep up her house work at the same time, the strain upon her is too great. If she delegates it to the children, she puts burdens upon them too early in life. Often she is compelled to labor when she is physically unfitted for it, especially just before or after childbirth. The whole effect is demoralizing and injurious to the family. The entry of woman into industry under these conditions tends also to keep wages down. It is one of the chief causes of our next problem, child neglect. It increases the supply of labor, hence causes unemployment. In this way it is closely interwoven with other problems.

Child Neglect. — The children of the poor are not only underfed but also improperly fed. Often the food is sufficient in quantity but not in quality, lacking nourishing elements; in that case the children suffer from slow starvation. They are often sent to school without proper breakfasts, for lunch they have given them to spend a few pennies which go often for ice cream, candy, or pickles. Spargo in his *Bitter Cry of the Children* estimated a few years ago that 2,000,000 children of school age were victims of poverty and were denied the common necessities of life, such as adequate food; clothes, and shelter, and were turned adrift with feeble minds and bodies. He brings out the question whether it would not be better to feed these waifs than to try to educate them. Also whether it is not brutal to try to educate them when they are starving. The cause of dullness in school is largely poor nutrition. Insufficient blood goes to the brain. Insufficient clothing also requires too much of the vitality of the body to fight off the cold. Children become discouraged and leave school, take to the street, and so easily drift into crime. Often they are taken out of school on the ground that if they cannot learn they might as well help pay the rent. Then child labor brings still further injury physically, mentally, and morally. If the child cannot stand the strain of school it cannot stand the strain of factory life, and goes to help swell the class of degenerates. The criminal population, as we shall see in our

next chapter, is drawn largely from this class of degenerate children. Reformatory children are nearly always smaller and lighter in weight upon admission than normal children of the same age. Poor nutrition lies at the root of much of crime. So great has been this problem in the slum districts that the public schools of most of our large cities have had to follow the practice of many European cities in furnishing free lunches or lunches at a low cost to the children. In this way lunches that are nourishing and palatable are furnished for a few cents. The writer was struck with the wonderful popularity of these lunch rooms that he once visited in some of the Chicago public schools. They are generally conducted on the cafeteria plan but with some provision for those who cannot afford even them. But when they were first introduced, it was found that the digestive apparatus of many children was so disorganized that it could not stand good food; being too weak to digest it, the stomach would reject it. In one place the soup was found to be too good and had to be weakened. Children were found who could not eat chicken or meats of any kind, who could not even drink milk. This is one illustration of where the school has to step in and perform the function of the home. Great improvements in school work always follow the putting in of these cheap lunch rooms. In Switzerland the poor children are fed, clothed, and shod at public expense. Day homes are provided for very young children. Children are examined and the sick ones, instead of being sent home, where they are not apt to receive proper care, are taken to sanitariums. In Brussels and in Norway, if a child looks puny it is fed a special diet, and the school system sees to it that every child receives a square meal. In this respect America is behind Europe, but is rapidly following in the wake. This work must be extended if we expect to stop the recruiting of a class of physical, mental, and moral degenerates. We are putting in day nurseries, where working mothers may leave their children under proper care. We are spreading the work of visiting nurses who teach mothers how to cook and how to care for their homes and children. We are also experimenting with mother's pensions, which allow them to stay at home to care for the children if their husbands have died or deserted them, the state thus paying for this important service. We are also working towards minimum wage scales to enable the parents to provide for the children. In other

words, we are not only trying to relieve the distress, but we are attempting to dig up the roots of the evil.

Along this same line are to be considered the physical defects of children, such as poor eyesight, adenoids, enlarged tonsils, and other ailments which can easily be remedied if treated in time. Many children are dull because of defective vision, poor hearing, or some such physical weakness and if these faults are remedied the dullness often disappears. It is even stated that Theodore Roosevelt was considered dull until it was found out that he was nearsighted. With the fitting of glasses the dullness quickly disappeared. This condition is not always confined to the children of the very poor, for well-to-do people, even clergymen, neglect to care for their children in this respect, thinking that the child is all right or putting off the matter too long, till the child is injured for life. Many of our schools have medical inspection of the children at stated intervals. This too often is done in a hasty manner, a mere glance being given each child. Then if a defect, such as poor vision, is found, a note is sent to the parents asking them to correct the trouble. These warnings are frequently neglected; in fact less than half the time are they heeded, the parents being too poor, too ignorant, too shiftless, or too selfish to remedy the defect. There ought to be better provision for such cases, for the country cannot afford to have its children thus neglected, even if the parents are too worthless to care for the matter. This is one line of work that needs to be greatly extended.

It seems sad but it is true that poverty always falls the heaviest upon those who have no control over it, especially the child, who has to go without proper food, clothing, and shelter, and who has to endure suffering and is often killed, or ruined for life's battle. The death rate for the poorest class of laborers is three and one-half times as great as among the well-to-do. The infantile death rate is much greater because of the weaker vitality, making it more difficult to throw off disease. Poverty always falls heavier upon woman than man, and heavier upon the child than the adult.

Degeneracy.— We find not only degenerate families but also degenerate communities and degenerate nations. The causes entering into this problem are many, but one of the principal ones is poverty. Poverty holds down, removes, or prevents the development of ambition. Poverty, as we have found out, brings with it a myriad of other evils like crime,

ignorance, immorality, lack of patriotism, and narrowness of mind. Degeneracy is not all due to poverty: biological factors have to be considered, and geographic features are determinants of many causes. But poverty is the cause of much of it. The writer well remembers when on a trip thru the mountains of southeastern Kentucky being greatly surprised at the prosperity of the country, and the rapid strides which that section was taking. The reason back of it all he found out was the discovery of coal, which was bringing wealth into the country. Wealth brings opportunity for an education, time for study, means of travel, and a chance to enjoy the comforts of life. The inclination may have been there before, but poverty prevents. If we examine the location and economic status of the communities from which the degenerate families, such as the Jukes, Kallikak, Nam, and Hill Folks come, we will find that poverty has prevailed. If we take up the degenerate and backward sections of any country, we find the same situation. This condition is partly the cause of poverty but equally the result of it. The sand hills of the Carolinas and Georgia, the Ozarks of Arkansas, the mountains of Kentucky and Tennessee — all these have been unproductive regions, also inaccessible places, which have been left to their own poverty. If we examine the backward countries of the world, we find the same fact to be true.

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CHAPTER XX
POVERTY (*Continued*)
TREATMENT OF POVERTY

Historical Treatment of Poverty. — One of the earliest methods of treating poverty was by *slavery*. If a person was unable to make a living or to manage his own affairs in such a way as to make both ends meet, he was sold into slavery, so as to allow someone else to work him who was able to bring this about. If a group or nation was unable to stand on its own feet, it was likewise subjugated by a stronger one. This solution of the problem was never consciously worked out in accordance with any such theory, yet it was followed to a considerable extent in ancient times. Among some peoples the aged and crippled were killed, sometimes in a spirit of altruism.

Charity, or the giving of alms, has been from time immemorial the most popular method of dealing with poverty. It has taken the forms of public charity, or the help given thru institutions or agencies under the control of the state or any of its branches, and of private charity, or the help given by individuals or groups of individuals independent of the authority of the state.

We find the idea of charity highly developed in the philosophy of India, China, and Judea. The religions of these countries, especially Brahmanism and Buddhism, advanced charity as one of the roads towards salvation. In India the Brahman holy men depend upon alms for a living and it is a part of the Brahman religious code to give to them. So much has this been stressed that the so-called "holy men" are a nuisance in India and thousands of impostors find thereby an easy way to make a living. Charity was developed and organized by the early Hebrew church. Christianity took it up and carried it on to a still greater extension than Judaism. With savages we do not as a rule find charity very highly developed for among them the weak are despised and helped only

because of the personal sympathy of relatives or friends; but among the really advanced peoples, especially those having highly organized religions, such as the Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru, we find the systems of relief of the poor quite highly developed. As we study the people who are higher in the scale of civilization, we find an increase in the spirit of altruism; one of the forms which this has taken is charity. Altho we find exceptions, this was not as a rule public charity, or aid by the state, but private charity, and was left largely to the church, especially in the case of the Christian church. In Athens a poor tax was levied and collected, but Athens was an exceptionally highly developed community. Rome in the period of the Empire spent vast sums, amounting to millions of dollars each year, in feeding the poor. At the time of Augustus 320,000 persons received grants of corn or other aid from the state, and it is estimated that Nero gave away during his reign nearly \$100,000,000.00 from the public treasury to the people for food. The Roman populace was not only fed at public expense but even amused. All this was not done, however, from any motives of altruism. In Rome the people were divided into patricians, or the wealthy, and the plebians, or the poor. At first the patricians ruled and took all the spoils of their conquests, but later the plebians gained a voice in the government and came to be feared. In order to keep them from revolting and overthrowing the patricians the rulers began to help feed them, at first by keeping down prices, then by giving corn, and later by adding to the corn oil and wine. When the problem of keeping the people quiet and contented became so great that the circuses and gladiatorial contests were instituted to amuse them. The politicians vied with each other in lavishness of gifts in order to gain the votes of the people, both before election and after being put into office. This giving, which eventually all came out of the public coffers, probably exceeded the amounts contributed directly to the support of the people. These politicians not only recuperated themselves after getting office but also took the opportunity of filling their pockets besides, till it came to be the custom for a consul, upon being given his province after retirement, to consider this his opportunity to recoup himself. In the one year that he held the province he had to make three fortunes; first one to pay off the debts he had incurred getting into office; second, one to pay off all law suits after he got out; and

third, enuf to keep himself in luxury the rest of his life. So there was very little charity or altruism in the giving of the Roman state.

The Catholic Church with its growth assumed more and more the responsibility of caring for the poor and afflicted. Orders of nuns and monks were instituted with this motive in view. The church did heroic work in this way. But the whole attitude was that of relief of distress, not of prevention of poverty. It sought to relieve suffering without attempting to remove its causes, perhaps seldom thinking that it could be done. The church gave alms, cared for children, relieved sickness, and tried in general to alleviate distress. But instead of removing it, the church probably increased poverty. The conditions causing poverty were at work producing more poverty, and the very fact that they could get alms was a great inducement for the people not to struggle against adversity but to accept these alms. This work of the church in taking charge of poverty continued until the time of the Reformation, when the Catholic Church began to break up into sects and when matters of theology began to gain the attention of the church rather than relief of suffering. Then it had to surrender a great part of this work to the state. The church has always kept the principle of charity as one of its fundamental principles, but its importance in this respect has dwindled. In some ways this is to be regretted; yet on the other hand the church never handled the matter competently, probably causing more poverty by indiscriminate giving than it relieved. The theory of the church was that the more one gave the greater would be the reward in heaven.

Charity Taken Over by the State. — At first pauperism was treated as a crime. Before the time of the Reformation the laws in regard to poverty were revolting in their severity, flogging and branding being the punishment for begging; the indigent and miserable were left entirely to the care of the church. But with the coming of the Reformation, when the church split up into sects, it was impossible for this function to be performed, and to supply this need poor laws were introduced thruout Europe during the sixteenth century, and there grew up the recognition of the responsibility of the community to look after its poor rather than to leave them to the church. This work was generally left to the town councils.

At Hamburg as early as 1529 directions were published

for the guidance of the overseers: "to visit the houses in their respective districts once every month, in order to make themselves acquainted with the circumstances of the poor; to provide employment for those who were able to work, to lend money without interest to those who were honest, and could with little assistance maintain an independent position and lastly to grant permanent relief to the disabled and sick".¹

In 1531 Emperor Charles V "directed that collections to be made thruout the Netherlands for the settled poor—the idlers and rogues to be set to work; poor women and children provided for; the latter put to school, and afterwards placed out in service and trade".²

The law of the German Empire of 1577 compelled parishes "to support their own poor, send away stragglers, and provide accommodation for the sick". In fact there sprang up over Northern Europe the general idea that each locality should make provisions for three classes of poor—the vagrant, the impotent, and the able-bodied out of work. Sometimes this was made compulsory and sometimes only suggestions were made. England furnishes us the best example of these laws.

English Poor Laws, 1601-1834.—Until 1601 there was no relief policy in England worthy of the name. The laws hitherto were against the poor and the rights of labor. The laborer was reduced to a condition of servitude; he was confined to his place of birth and compelled to work for fixed wages. These were set by law, and sometimes by justices who were themselves employers of labor. They were determined by the wages of the previous five or six years or by the price of foodstuffs. If the laborer wandered around in search of work at the highest possible price, he was liable to barbarous punishments, such as whipping, branding, burning or cropping the ears, the pillory, imprisonment, and even death itself.

The law of 1601, which was a compilation of a series of previous measures, provided for the appointment of two or three overseers in each parish, whose duty it was to raise a poor rate by subscription or by taxation. Then if a person could not make a living, what he lacked was supplied out of the poor rate. It was thus a system of public charity with ample opportunity for abuse. If a man was out of work, the parish tried to provide work, even to the point of selling the labor of the pauper and making up the balance. Some-

¹Fowle, T. W., "*Poor Law*", pp. 22-23.

²Fowle, T. W., "*Poor Law*", p. 23.

times the man would be paid if he applied for work — a procedure which led to the practice of walking the “rounds” and to that of farmer’s certifying that so-and-so had called. Sometimes farmers were compelled to employ the paupers, thus being forced to discharge their regular hands. This law gave the employers the inducement to lower wages; this the factory owners and other employers did, for the deficit would be made up from the poor rate so that the workers might receive the same. Of course the poor rates became oppressive, amounting finally to over \$30,000,000.00 a year in England, which then had a population of only 11,000,000; moreover money was much more valuable then than it is today. Rates became so high that it was hard to find tenants for farms, the rates often amounting to as much as five dollars an acre. As a result the rate payer became worse off than the pauper. The poor laborer was in a more deplorable condition for he had to work harder for lower wages and was in constant danger of being replaced by paupers. If one was industrious and saved, he received no work; so it was foolish to work hard; in fact many couples left home in order to live in the workhouse — where little work was required. All industry became disorganized. Better wages were frequently refused for fear of losing one’s settlement, and there was a general deterioration in industry and in morals. In the almshouses the inmates were well fed but they lived in idleness, having nothing to take up their minds.

This condition became intolerable; so in 1833 a Poor Law Commission was appointed, which drew up the act adopted by Parliament in the following year, and extended to Ireland in 1838 and to Scotland in 1845. The principal features of this act were the abandonment of the policy of relief to able-bodied persons and the substitution of the celebrated “workhouse test”, by means of which relief to be given to the able-bodied only in well-regulated workhouses, where work was required of all. Unions or parishes were formed to build and operate these workhouses. They were uninviting and the relief given was such as only the destitute would accept. The commission thought that they had settled the question forever, for in this way they intended to aid only the worthy poor. But the system became too hardened and the problem of poverty became so great that towards the end of the nineteenth century great dissatisfaction arose over its failure to meet the

problem; as a result the present system of social insurance was adopted in the early part of the twentieth century.

American Treatment of Poverty. — The American system has centered around the almshouse, but it is to be doubted if any other institution needs reform so much as the American poor-farm, for it is an institution that has been sadly neglected. It has served as a catchall for every class: the worthy poor, the feeble-minded, the insane, the epileptic, drunkards, prostitutes, all classes, in fact, from the able-bodied to the helpless; from the hard-working man or woman who has lived an honorable, upright life, but who is broken down in old age, to the drunken, immoral wreck who has done nothing but squander his or her talents; from the orphan to the hardened, vulgar, dissolute, criminal, neer-do-well — all these are generally indiscriminately thrown together. These almshouses, except those in the states of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, are under the control of the county authorities. Since 1890 there has been a tendency to consolidate the smaller ones, and some hundreds of them have been so consolidated. Also in recent years there has been a tendency to remove many classes from the almshouse who do not belong there. Among these are the feeble-minded, deaf and dumb, blind, insane, and epileptic.

The almshouse method has passed thru four different stages, as follows:

(1). Before the erection of any special building, when the paupers were boarded out or sometimes farmed out to the lowest bidder.

(2). When some old cottage or farm house would be purchased. This would serve as a catchall for old, infirm, insane, epileptic, or idiotic persons and for abandoned children, foundlings, etc. Here they received little attention, with the exception of grumbling over the expense they caused. The whole aim was economy and the running of the place was generally given to the lowest bidder.

(3). The opposite extreme was a magnificent structure, imposing from the outside (nobody went inside), but erected with no regard for comfort, being usually four or five stories high, built with the same number of rooms for women as for men, altho men outnumber the women two or three to one. The writer well remembers a visit to such a poor-farm in LaFayette County, Missouri.

(4). The cottage plan, the houses being sometimes con-

nected by passages. This plan allows separation of the sexes and provides for the different classes of inmates, and also for separate hospital cottages. This is the modern almshouse. This is the best plan, especially if enuf land is provided for the few able to work to keep busy in gardening and similar work.

Our almshouses in the past have been conducted in a deplorable manner; the inmates have been neglected and even at times abused. Generally they have been poorly fed, poorly clad, and badly housed, to say nothing of being deprived of the comforts of life. One has only to turn to the accounts of Professor Ellwood¹ in his investigation of Missouri almshouses to get a picture of the American almshouse.

But when we consider the difficulties of running the almshouse, such as (1) the lack of money, meaning for the superintendent pay which of course would attract only inefficient men; (2) the class of inmates; the riff-raff and scum, the inefficient, the half-witted, and the crazy; (3) the stolid, unsympathetic temperament of the inefficient person who would be attracted to or be willing to accept the position of superintendent, and (4) the bad temper and unappreciativeness of the inmates—an attitude that would try the patience of the most sympathetic, it is no wonder that we have such miserable conditions. All difficulties were exaggerated when the lease system would be employed, for then a premium would be put upon negligence and stinginess. The management of the almshouse does not matter so much when the inmates are old, for death will soon relieve the unfortunates, but it blasts the whole life of the child inmates, for the neglect, ill treatment, and horrible environment kills all the good qualities and sends the person away destined to return later as an inmate. While this condition is slowly being remedied by the removal of many classes from the almshouse and the better care of those remaining there, this is a matter which needs our attention probably more than any other phase of our relief policy. Professor Ellwood recommends three lines of work: (1) visitation of the local board; (2) inspection by state authorities, and (3) mandatory and prohibitive legislation. Even at the best it is no easy matter to run an almshouse, considering the class of inmates. Then it is very difficult to find suitable work for all; but the inmates must be kept occupied to be contented. This problem requires

¹Ellwood, Charles A., Bulletin on "*Almshouses in Missouri*".

tact and ability, far more in fact than will be found in the average person willing to undertake such work.

Other Relief Institutions. — Another class which has to be considered here is that of the children. There always have been and probably always will be orphan and dependent children. They were formerly one of the sources from which the ranks of slavery were recruited. The church, especially the Roman Catholic Church, when it was at the height of its power, took care of these in the nunneries and monasteries and in orphan and foundling asylums. They did this not from reasons of philanthropy and altruism but to win recruits. Foundling asylums are ancient institutions and have always been very numerous in France, where the need of them because of the widespread immorality has always been very great. There any one could, as a rule, leave a child with no questions asked, provisions being frequently made to drop the child into a basket specially placed for the purpose. The foundling asylums were often supported by the state, as were the orphan asylums, and were frequently mismanaged, as Dickens shows us in the picture he paints in *Oliver Twist* of the life in the English orphan asylum. In England the labor of orphans was sold to the factories, as we noticed under child labor. In fact the abuses in the past have been terrible. The death-rate in the foundling asylums has been at times almost unbelievable, running even as high as 97 per cent. This situation is unavoidable to some extent, because of the condition of the children upon admission; they have been poorly nourished and have received practically no care in many cases, and often have been injured by efforts to kill them before birth or to prevent conception. Yet when the babies are properly cared for, the death-rate falls to almost normal, or at least somewhere near it. The ignorance and neglect of the attendants make it much higher than it otherwise would be. As a rule they take no interest in the child except to cause it to make as little trouble as possible, often using opiates to quiet it. They do not care whether the child lives or not; in fact nobody cares. Considering the class from which these children come and the future before them, the question often arises whether a high death rate is wholly bad in the end, not only for the public but for the child itself. Another cause of the abnormally high death rate is the very fact that babies cannot be reared by wholesale but require individual attention and affection, even if other conditions,

such as sunlight, air, food, and clothing are good. The child misses the advantage of breast feeding, altho this lack is sometimes overcome by boarding it out with a wet nurse—a procedure followed by the New York State Charities Aid Association with children under six months of age. By the careful boarding out of foundlings received from the Charities Aid Societies in Manhattan, Bronx, and Brooklyn, the death rate was reduced from 59.9 per cent in 1898 to 11.6 per cent in 1906. In Massachusetts the practice of boarding out is carried on as far as possible with a careful selection of homes. After the child grows up, he is subject to grave abuses, being often brutally treated not only in the institution but in the home where he or she is placed. Where the system of placing out is used it has to be supplemented by careful selection of families and rigid, frequent inspection afterwards to see that the child is properly treated.

While institutional care for children has its advantages, such as adequate food supply, sufficient clothes, a warm place in which to sleep, regular schooling, and protection from danger, (when it provides these comforts), they are more than outweighed by the disadvantages. Often the child is maltreated by hard hearted and unsympathetic attendants and by those in authority. Not only is the rate of mortality high, but the discipline is demoralizing to the child that survives; even when the discipline is not harsh, the system makes a machine rather than a man of him. The child does not learn how to do the ordinary things of life, such as to use matches and to care for fire, for such matters of routine are all done by attendants. At home the child learns to do all these and requires some sense of responsibility. Institutional care weakens the will power, which can only be developed by exercise. The children learn too easily to submit to rule, to discomfort or pain. Attendants are employed who have institutional experience, persons who are thus able to suppress the children with the minimum of trouble, who remember that the more suppressed the child is the less it will object. As a result the child comes out of the institution with no idea of helping another, no conception of the value of money or of domestic economics; it does not develop independence or a sense of responsibility, so is seldom able to form sound judgments. In fact institutional life ruins for leadership. This tendency is overcome in some institutions by a system of self-government; probably the most famous of the institutions

using such methods being the George Junior Republic. The Massachusetts system is likewise a good one. This is a combination plan, in which about 40 per cent of the children, mostly the young ones, are boarded out, about 45 per cent placed in families, and only about 15 per cent cared for in institutions. Placing in private institutions is used sometimes but it is, as a general rule, bad, for it subsidizes private institutions and too often stops philanthropy, even if it does not lead to graft; moreover the treatment is not always the best.

The best principles to follow should include if possible an attempt to repair the breaches and defects of the home before breaking up the family relation, and then to use institutional care only as a temporary expedient and for such classes as the deaf, the feeble-minded, deformed, incurable, and delinquent children, for whom it is generally necessary. A selected family, chosen with great care and visited under a system of careful supervision, is the best substitute for the old home. There is also a growing demand for supervision of private institutions. Small institutions are at a disadvantage because of the cost of placing out and the consequent supervision.

Another line of relief work demanding institutional treatment is the care of the destitute sick. In the past thirty or forty years the attitude towards hospitals has changed; they are now regarded no longer as places in which to die but as places in which to get well. The idea has also prevailed that the poor man who is not able to pay anything should receive the same treatment that the rich receive at home. As a result of an attempt to bring about these two conditions the cost of hospital service nearly doubled between 1870 and 1910, on account of increase in the cost of food, better care and accommodations, and higher pay to nurses. Of the money which it took to maintain the hospitals of the United States in 1903, 18.1 per cent was paid by annual subsidies from public funds; 43.2 per cent was met by pay patients, and the remainder was obtained from charity. These hospitals treated 1,064,512 patients in 1903, or 1.3 per cent of the population. In 1910 there were 1918 such institutions — those run for private profit being omitted, and they treated 1,953,309 patients or 2.1 per cent of the population. Altho the number of hospitals and their facilities are increasing there are not yet enuf of them. Some of the motives leading to the development of medical charities have been the following:¹ (1) the desire to

¹First four motives taken from Warner, *"American Charities"*, second edition (1908), p. 304.

aid the destitute; (2) zeal to advertise a religious faith; (3) the ambition to educate students and build up medical reputations; (4) the wish to protect the public health against infection and contagion; (5) the economic motive to restore to self-support and thus save loss of wages. This latter has prompted corporations to provide hospitals for their workers.

Two types of hospitals appear in the United States:¹

(1). The municipal, developed from the almshouse or city jail, where it originated in the attempt to treat the patients there. While such a hospital is liable to political mismanagement (the past has shown much graft and poor management), these conditions are rapidly being done away with and this country has many efficient city hospitals.

(2). Corporate, generally managed by an unsalaried board composed of prominent citizens, ministers, business men, and philanthropists. Tho such men often know nothing about methods of running a hospital, the efficiency of these institutions is constantly increasing. The death-rate in hospitals has decreased tremendously in the past thirty years, especially in the free city hospitals; this decrease is due largely to the greater efficiency of the nurses, obtained thru the establishment of nursing schools, and by the use of civil service examinations in the appointment of nurses, whereas nursing was formerly done to a great extent by inmates of the almshouses and houses of correction.

We should add to the discussion of hospitals notice of the increase and spread in usefulness of the dispensaries in the United States. The most of these charge a small fee for medicines for those who are able to pay. These dispensaries aid people who are down and out, those who are in need of medical attention but cannot afford to go to a physician; also those who can afford to pay a small sum for medicines and treatment but who cannot pay the two or three dollars demanded by most physicians, who at that generally give a prescription which costs another dollar or two to get filled. These supplemented by the district and visiting nurses, help the sick in their own homes and — what is still more important — try to prevent sickness or at least check it before it has reached a serious stage. In 1910 there were nearly 600 dispensaries, of which less than half were connected with hospitals, and in which two and one-half million persons were

¹First four motives taken from Warner, Amos G., "*American Charities*", second edition, (1908), pp. 306-7.

treated. The number of clinics, especially those for children, mentally defective and the tubercular has greatly increased since 1910.

Special hospitals for certain diseases and homes for the incurable are further extensions of this work of medical relief. While rapidly increasing this line work can be greatly increased. It is in line with the modern theory of the prevention of poverty. Dental dispensaries are among the latest developments. The United Charities of Chicago maintains two such for the poor; in 1915 these performed 3,718 dental operations at an average cost of six and one-half cents.

Homes for the aged are also increasing; a system of old age pensions is, however, in all likelihood the best way of dealing with this problem, provided the system is made contributory, for this plan will compel people to provide for old age and will enable them to maintain their own homes and not become dependent upon charity.

Outdoor Relief. — In addition to the indoor relief given in the various institutions outdoor relief, or relief given the poor in their homes, other than medical, has been used a great deal in the past. This is not done as much today as formerly except thru visiting nurses, probation officers, and the like, who work towards the removing of the conditions which cause the poverty rather than towards alleviating the misery; not to aid the person because that person is poor, but to help lift him out of his condition or prevent his falling below the poverty line. The old method of doling out a few dollars or some groceries is not used so much now as formerly, largely because of the abuses attendant in the past, especially in the large Eastern cities. When this method is followed it is used only as partial aid or as temporary relief.

There are arguments in favor of retaining outdoor relief, such as:¹

(1). It is the natural method and is thus really a continuance of the spirit of neighborliness. It does not break up the family or separate persons from friends and neighbors. The disgrace is less because the help is less conspicuous, altho this is not always an advantage; it is sometimes desirable to separate from neighbors, occasionally even from relatives.

(2). It is argued that it is more economical, for most families can almost make a living and hence it is folly to break up the family and thus increase expense. Yet on the

¹Warner, Amos G., "*American Charities*", (third edition, 1918), pp. 208-209.

other hand the number of persons helped will grow and the total cost may even increase, because otherwise many families would keep going themselves.

(3). One of the strongest arguments is the fact that there are not institutions enuf and the consequent fact that greater equipment would thus be demanded. It would be uneconomical to meet these demands, for the amount of poverty fluctuates with the seasons and with prosperity. Buildings sufficient to meet all demands would be empty most of the time.

(4). Individual private charity, the alternative of public outdoor relief, is uncertain and unreliable, depending upon emotion, sentiment and prosperity. When it would be needed the most it would be least forthcoming, as was evidenced in the winter of 1914-15, when the charity organizations all over the country were hardest pressed for aid and when necessary funds were least forthcoming because of the hard times. Also under individual private charities relief is liable to be duplicated.

Against such arguments are raised the following:¹

(1). Except in small communities there can be no real inspection or supervision and no chance for investigation or discrimination. The policy generally followed is to make it as difficult as possible to get relief; the actual result is that those who need it get disgusted and only the unworthy receive it. Relief thus becomes mechanical and has no sympathetic touch.

(2). Because of the pleasant form of relief if the above was not carried out the number of paupers would be increased. There would be less incentive to save, for the state could always be depended upon. This increase would more than make up for all the saving in helping in the home.

(3). Such a relief policy would lead to political corruption, such as occurred in Rome. This situation is much more important in the cities, especially the large ones, but is found even in the small towns. Giving is done to gain favor and to advance personal aims, and also to gain votes.

(4). If such relief is lavish it results in a reduction in wages, for employers know that the deficiency in wages will be made up out of public relief. This was the result of lavish giving in England.

(5). And what is perhaps the most important of all, it

¹Warner, Amos G., *"American Charities"*, (third edition, 1918), pp. 209-210.

would destroy thrift and self-respect. For why should any one work when the public treasury is open? People would receive help or ask for it because their neighbors did the same.

The whole matter simmers down to a question of administration. As a rule outdoor relief is generally preferred only in small towns and rural communities, except in cases of special classes of defectives, who can be better cared for in institutions. On the other hand indoor relief is preferred in large cities, except as partial or temporary relief may be given otherwise.

Charity Organization. — The alternative to public relief, instead of being indiscriminate private relief, is organized charity. The movement towards organization began in Europe, where it was early found in the principal cities, such as Paris, Berlin, and Vienna. This occurred about the middle of the past century. The movement spread to England and America, and was first adopted in the United States in 1877, when the Buffalo Society of Charity Organization was established. Since then it has spread to nearly all our cities and is now being adopted by individual counties. This is done to avoid duplication, to divide up the work so as to cover all needs, and to see that each endeavor has its share of funds. Such a plan not only prevents overlapping, but helps stamp out imposters. Co-operation is obtained thru the comparison of records kept in a central office equipped with card catalogues, etc. Prompt relief can be obtained by bringing the case to the attention of the proper authorities. Better results are secured also in the collection of funds thru co-operation. This work is now being supplemented by endorsement committees generally appointed by the commercial associations or chambers of commerce, who investigate the different charitable organizations and require them to conduct their affairs in accordance with business principles, to spend their funds wisely, and to see also that there is a real need. Then there is usually coupled with this some method of raising funds by tag-day, assessment, or general subscription. In this way those willing to contribute know where their money goes and how it is spent; therefore they respond much more liberally. This whole charity organization is really the conducting of charity in accordance with business methods. It has its failings as well as advantages, for relief is too often mechanical; besides too much system and red-tape are frequently employed. The endorsement committees are often composed of business men who are not familiar with charity work and

the needs of the community, and so they are not always competent persons to pass upon charity matters. In general, however, this plan of organization enables much more efficient work to be done and much greater undertakings to be carried thru. On the whole it is a great improvement in indiscriminate private giving and unorganized charity. It also is able to give to some extent the personal touch and to use the discrimination which public charity is rarely capable of giving. Under this system charity cannot be claimed as a right the same as is done in many cases with public relief. It, however, is not always able to meet a great calamity or crisis when it arises, because when a crisis arises the difficulty of raising funds also increases. But on the whole, organized private charity is today our best method of dealing with the relief problem.

The Elberfeld System. — A system of relief and charity organization known sometimes as the Hamburg-Elberfeld, because it originated in Hamburg and was developed to its present high state in Elberfeld, Germany, but more commonly called the Elberfeld system, has not only been generally adopted thruout Europe, but has been recognized as one of the best, if not the best, relief system ever devised. It started in Hamburg about 1765 at a time when a vast amount of poverty and misery was present in Europe, when the streets of Hamburg were lined with beggars, and when thousands were asking for aid, having been attracted there because of the great prosperity of that place. The scheme was presented by a certain Professor Bush; it divided the city into districts, over each of which an overseer was appointed. The overseers reported to a central office. Giving to beggars was forbidden, an industrial school for children was established, and a hospital provided; but most important of all — the poor were taught to help themselves. The system ridded Hamburg of the beggars and relieved the poverty situation; later, however, it was abandoned. It was revived in Elberfeld with some modifications in 1852. There it works as follows: The city is divided into districts, over each of which an overseer, or almoner, as he is called, is appointed, who looks after the poor cases in his district, and who also has general oversight over conditions. This almoner is unpaid and the service is compulsory, or rather if it is not done an extra rate is imposed upon the person and he loses his voting privilege for a period of years. But as the office is considered a stepping stone

to political preferment, few people object to the work, and very able people accept it. Then since the districts are so small that never more than four cases and seldom more than one or two are given to each almoner, the service is personal and intimate and takes the form of true neighborliness. Because of the patriotic interest in it the work is done very efficiently. These small districts are included in larger districts; the almoners meet fortnightly, and the chairmen of these meetings report to a central committee of nine, which has charge of the relief system of the whole city. This central committee includes a trained paid administrator and paid assistants. It prepares instructions for the district leaders and the visitors, divides up the work, appoints the visitors, supervises the hospitals, investigates causes of poverty, initiates legislation and institutes other measures of amelioration.

The success of the scheme is shown by the fact that the population of Elberfeld increased from 50,000 in 1852 to 162,000 in 1904, whereas the number of those receiving either temporary or permanent help increased only from 4,000 to 7,689, or a decrease of from 8 to 4.7 per cent of the population. The cost of relief for each person in 1852 was eighty-nine cents and in 1904 eighty-eight cents—a great reduction when we take into consideration the increase in amount of wealth and the fall in the value of money. While this system has not been adopted to any great extent in America, it offers us many valuable suggestions; with some changes made to fit the conditions in this country it might be extremely valuable and helpful in handling the question of poor relief, especially in smaller cities.

Public vs. Private Relief.—A great deal of discussion has arisen over the advantages and disadvantages of the two plans of relief—public and private. Much could be said in favor of each. It might be laid down as a general principle that for new lines of work, involving experimentation and exploration of a new field, private charity is better. Then when the public is educated to the need of a definite plan of action, when the work has reached such a stage of development that it can be systematized, and when the need is more or less permanent, it is better to turn the task over to public authorities. As a rule private charity is much more easily directed to something that is new, but after the work becomes familiar, interest is apt to die out. On the other hand, public authorities are not so well fitted to carry

on new work, but because of the permanent need it is better fitted to carry on old lines of work. When a certain type of work is needed and demanded by the public, it is only fair and just that the public should be asked to carry the burden and not to leave to a few the carrying of the work which is public in nature. In this way both public and private charity can go hand in hand and not be antagonistic. Private charity is good in that it encourages altruism and allows those who are able to relieve the sufferings of those who are less fortunate. Then public charity is necessary for the reason that there are lines of work which involve great expense, but work which cannot be permitted to be dropped or crippled in any way.

The Trend of Modern Charity. — Former ages accepted poverty, misery, distress, incapacity, and industrial slavery as inevitable and so allowed the unfortunate to suffer in silence and as a rule tried not to notice the suffering and wretchedness but to keep away from it; like the priest and Levite they passed by on the other side of the road. Now we recognize that not only can poverty, disease, and misery be done away with, but that they must be eliminated; that unless we stop them we shall be engulfed by the degenerate classes. While some charity workers are too busy picking up those who have fallen off the cliff to stop to build a fence at the top, others are building fences and trying to prevent people from falling. In other words, prevention is the key-word of all future charitable work. Help those who need relief but still more try to put them upon their feet so that they will not need help in the future. Then what is still more important, remove the causes of poverty and prevent others from falling below the poverty line; lock the stable door before the horse is stolen. If low wages cause poverty, adopt a minimum wage schedule. If intemperance is the cause, work for prohibition. If bad sanitation is the cause, put in sewers and better plumbing. If bad housing conditions are the cause, adopt a better building code and see that unsanitary houses are not occupied. Alleviate present poverty, but see that the conditions which caused it are removed.

Program for the Future Prevention of Poverty. — In our enumeration of the causes of poverty we took up in most cases the measures to cure them. In addition to such measures the hope of the future lies along the following lines:

1. The advancement and continuance of all movements

which try to prevent or remove bad conditions, such as those working for better housing, pure milk, better sanitation, the draining of swamps, disposal of garbage, irrigation, and the prevention and cure of disease; such institutions as the Rockefeller foundation, which has among its various objects the search for cures of diseases; tuberculosis sanitariums; schools for the feeble-minded, blind, deaf, and epileptic; the building of hospitals and the spread of their usefulness; the establishment of free dispensaries; the extension of the work of visiting nurses and probation officers; the establishment of classes to teach girls how to cook, the building of social settlements; and all like methods of removing the conditions in society that produce poverty.

2. The removing of causes of the conditions producing poverty by such measures as the prevention of industrial accidents thru compelling employers to use the best safety devices in their factories and workshops; the adoption of minimum wage schedules, thus eliminating low wages; the improvement of court and penal systems so as to give the poor man a fair chance; the instituting of such devices as the public defender, to give the poor person a chance to obtain a square deal; the removal of defects in the government and elimination of graft from politics and political management; the improvement of our educational methods, so as to fit the person for life, especially in the way of manual training, domestic science, and trade instruction; the enforcement of prohibition; attempting to remove ignorance, and as far as possible to eliminate inefficiency. In brief, improve our institutions so that they will function more efficiently.

3. Remedying of the defects of our industrial and business situation by trying to bridge the gaps; trying to make capital and labor work more harmoniously together; curbing the excessive profits of monopolies; removing the tremendous waste now existing between the production and consumption of commodities by squeezing out the middlemen, and by advancing co-operative enterprises, which are so successful in Europe; the prevention of panics, crises, and financial flurries; the putting of business upon a more uniform and stable foundation; the advancement of all methods of enabling the worker to produce more or to become more efficient, as the trade school; the shortening of the working day; the increase of wages thru collective bargaining; and the preventing the young from "blind alley" trades. In short the thing to do is to make the

worker to fit better into the industrial scheme and to make the industrial scheme adjust itself better to him, thus making it possible for him to produce more and to receive a larger share of the return from industry.

4. The advance of social insurance, such as sickness and accident insurance, and unemployment insurance, including a competent system of public free employment bureaus and municipal lodging houses in connection. These should all be compulsory and contributory and the insurance systems should be supported by the employers, employees, and the state. These insurance systems are possibly a trifle advanced for this country and it would not probably be wise to institute such system till the public has been educated to an appreciation of their need. All these schemes work well in Europe and the labor bureau worked well during the few months that we had it during the war. The need of social insurance has been greater in Europe than in the United States and the public has learned to appreciate them. It will be only a question of time till we will be able to see the need of them and will have reached a plane of governmental management where we can carry on such a program.

While poverty can never be abolished entirely, it can be eliminated as the great overshadowing problem that it is today. There will always be those who cannot stand on their own feet, no matter how many opportunities that they have; but we can bring about such a state of affairs that those who will can have the opportunity not only of maintaining themselves but of bettering their position. At least we ought to have such a stage of advancement that anyone who is able-bodied, fairly efficient, and equipped with normal intellect will be able not only to support himself but to bring into the world a succeeding generation which will have equally good opportunities.

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CHAPTER XXI

CRIME

The second great problem of maladjustment confronting society is that of crime. It is vitally connected with poverty and goes hand in hand with it. Poverty produces and is the product of crime. Also the different conditions of crime are interwoven with like conditions of poverty. When we touch one we generally find the other. By this we by no means suggest that the poor are more apt to be criminal than the rich, but that poverty produces crime and crime produces poverty and that both are products of similar conditions.

What Is Crime? — Crime is the violation of a law and is not necessarily wrong-doing, altho it usually is. An act may be evil and yet not criminal, because it may violate no law. Again an act may be moral and altruistic and yet criminal, even punishable with death. A criminal is one who breaks a law; he is not necessarily an evil-doer. He is frequently a benefactor of mankind; such examples may be given as Socrates, Huss, and Christ, all of whom were executed as criminals. On the other hand, some of the world's greatest malefactors have escaped the taint of being criminals, for they violated no law. Yet while crime is primarily a legal matter, it has its social bearing, for laws are the result of public opinion, and a thing cannot be considered a crime unless society puts a stamp of disapproval upon the action. So a crime is an act that society has condemned and upon the committing of which society has put a penalty. Society is, however, continually changing its mind in regard to what it considers as harmful or advantageous. What is a crime today may not be tomorrow, and what is legal today may be a crime tomorrow; moreover, what is legal in the United States may be a crime in Germany — formerly *lese-majeste* was an example of this. Even what is a crime in Massachusetts may not be in South Carolina, such as the employment of child labor. So a crime differs with the time and place; yet it depends upon public opinion for its existence. Many curious

examples may be given, such as driving with reins, once a crime in Russia. Francis I in 1635 forbade printing in France under penalty of the gallows; the Ionians condemned to exile those never seen to laugh; the Carthagenians killed the losing general; Spain for a long time did likewise to a commander who surrendered an army, and in accordance with this principle the commander who made such a plucky defense at Santiago against the Americans had to stand trial for his life upon his return to Spain, and only because public sentiment had changed did he escape with his life; by the Julian law celibacy was a crime; and Sparta stripped and scourged her confirmed bachelors in the market place in mid-winter.

Law generally distinguishes between major and minor crimes; the former she calls felonies and the latter misdemeanors; not only are punishments graded accordingly, but society looks upon them in a different manner. Also special privileges are accorded the person who commits a misdemeanor which are not allowed to the felon.

Different Kinds of Criminals. — Many attempts have been made to classify the criminal either biologically or psychologically and many ingenious systems have been worked out. None of these is perfect, and yet all are suggestive. The following scheme is given for its suggestiveness; it is one of the best yet offered:

(1). *Instinctive, or Born Criminal.* — This class is very small, furnishing probably not over five per cent of our criminal population. The moral imbecile — if there is such a person — is a good example of this type.

(2). *Habitual criminal*, a normal person with a tendency to drift into crime, a tendency acquired because of his environment. This class includes the professional burglar and yeggman, who are ranked among the most desperate of criminals; but the bulk of this group are weak persons who are not able to resist the temptation and who are not strong enough to change their habits even if they so desire. In the past, society has made it harder for them to reform because of its ostracism of the man with a criminal record. It is estimated that the habitual criminal forms from thirty to forty per cent of the criminal population.

(3). *The single offender*, the person who commits a crime from impulse or under the influence of anger or of liquor. One of the greatest faults with our penal system in the past has been that it has driven this type of person into the ranks

of the habitual offender. These people are criminals more in the legal than in the social sense, for very often the provocation is so great that the act in itself might be very justifiable from the moral or ethical standpoint. This class, it is estimated, forms from thirty to fifty per cent of our prison population; it is for this class that the indeterminate sentence, probation, and parole are especially meant.

(4). *Feeble-minded and Insane.* — Such should never be classified under the head of criminals, but unfortunately a heavy percentage of our prison population belong to one or the other of these two classes. As we shall see in a later chapter, the feeble-minded fall easily into crime and make up a large proportion of the inmates of our prisons and reformatories, especially the latter. While as a rule the insane are sent to asylums, nevertheless some go to prison instead.

Now the question comes up: Shall these different classes be all treated alike, even when the offense is the same? Naturally we say no, but then how we are going to draw the line is another problem.

Extent of Crime. — As to the exact extent of crime we have no trustworthy figures. We have statistics giving the number of prisoners and the number convicted each year, but these data give us no idea of the number of crimes committed, for many crimes are never detected and, even though the crimes may be discovered, many offenders are not caught. Besides, many of those who are caught are freed by our courts, even when guilty, thru some fault of the law or because of the ability of the defendant's counsel. On the other hand, sometimes the innocent are convicted. Many are also put on probation or paroled; so prison statistics do not give us accurate information on the subject. Because many persons are convicted several times during the year the number convicted in a year is for this reason not a reliable means by which to measure the extent of crime. In order to give some idea of the size of our prison population a few figures are necessary, but because of the futility and small value of such statistics only a few will be given. In the 2,823 penal institutions in the United States there were on January 1, 1910, 112,881 persons serving sentences, or about one-eighth of one per cent of our population. Of these, 105,362 were males and 6,136 females: 52,473 were native whites, 19,438 were foreign whites, and 38,701 were colored, 24,974 were juvenile delinquents serving sentences in juvenile reformatories. In

addition to these there should of course be added those serving paroles and those placed on probation. During the year 1910 there were 476,256 commitments to these penal institutions, or about one-half of one per cent of our population. This does not mean that only that number of persons are convicted each year; in fact, it is estimated that at least 1,000,000 are convicted of some offense each year, and that the difference is made up by persons who pay fines, escape by new trials, are put on probation, die, or escape. The fact that 1,000,000 persons are convicted does not mean that only 1,000,000 crimes are committed each year, for a vast number of crimes are never detected, especially the minor offenses, such as violation of city ordinances. It is possibly a good thing that many of these escape detection, for the majority of people commit such violations almost every day of their lives, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously. But unfortunately too many serious crimes go unpunished. *The Chicago Tribune* has for years, with the help of the Associated Press, kept a record of the number of homicides. These run between six and ten thousand each year. Yet those committed to prison each year for homicide amount only to a little over one-fourth of that number, being 2,444 for 1904, as against 8,482 homicides. The rest are not caught, not convicted if caught, die, or escape. The largest proportion of these homicides occur in southern and western states, Texas leading with about 1,000 each year. The fact that so many crimes go unpunished, especially after the criminal is caught, is a serious criticism of our legal procedure. Too many escape conviction thru taking advantage of legal technicalities; in fact the letter of the law is considered more than the spirit of it. This we shall see to be one of the causes of crime, especially serious crime, and one of the special causes of the increase of crime in the United States.

We often hear the question, Is crime on the increase? If we examine prison statistics we quickly come to the conclusion that it is, for in 1860 our prison population was only 19,086, or one prisoner to every 1647, and in 1910 our prison population was 112,881, or one prisoner to every 801 of the general population. Moreover, since 1860 we have adopted probation and parole and have shortened sentences a great deal. On the other hand we have added to the list of crimes, having now a great many more acts punishable by imprisonment. Then in many localities we have increased our police

efficiency. So it is extremely difficult to form any definite opinion. There is no question about the increase in the number of petty crimes and misdemeanors, such as the breaking of city ordinances, because of the tremendous increase in the number of these laws. But when it comes to the serious crimes like murder, arson, and burglary, we are not so certain. The number increases of course, but whether or not in proportion to the growth of population is the problem. Prison statistics for the past few years show an increase in these graver offenses, but whether this is in part due to greater efficiency in our methods of detection and conviction is a question; without doubt it is owing partly to our faulty prison systems in the past, as well as to the lack of fear of our courts. Ellwood¹ believes that the decrease in both grave and minor crimes in England, which is a peculiarity of that country has been due to their excellent prison system and to the quickness and sureness of the English courts, which are a marvelous contrast to our slow, clumsy, and inefficient courts.

Cost of Crime. — That the cost of crime to the United States is tremendous goes without challenge, but as to exact figures we have nothing definite; at best we have only estimates. As to the probable expense to the government for court machinery, police protection, prisons, and general repression of crime, we can make a fairly good estimate. This is generally placed around \$200,000,000 a year, but to this must be added the destruction to property, cost of protection to individuals, and loss of time to the public at large — altogether probably twice the amount of the actual governmental cost. Mr. Eugene Smith,² a New York lawyer, estimates that there are about 250,000 dangerous criminals in the United States, and that each costs the country about \$1,600 annually, or a total of about \$400,000,000. This would make the whole amount equal \$600,000,000, the cost of our public school system, or over one-half the value of our bumper wheat crop of 1915. This estimate may, of course, be high; yet the cost of crime is tremendous in this country, probably not so great as that of poverty, yet an amount well worthy of our attention. A study of this problem would not be a study unless we took up the causes of it; so we shall now try to find out what creates this problem.

Causes of Crime. — As with poverty we shall find that the causes of crime are interlocking and cumulative, and also difficult to separate and study, altho they are easier to trace

¹Ellwood, Charles A., "*Sociology and Modern Social Problem*", p. 319.

²Paper read before the National Prison Association in 1900.

than those of poverty. We shall study these likewise according to objective causes, or those outside the individual, and subjectives, or those inside the individual. We might also suggest three conditions of crime: (1) motive for the crime; (2) opportunity to commit the crime, such as property to steal, persons to kill, etc.; and (3) absence of opposition or restraint. The first two are positive and the last one negative.

Objective Causes of Crime.—Under this head come the causes due to physical and social environment.

1. **Physical Environment.**—Climate has a great deal to do with the nature of crime, and also its extent. We find that crimes against the person or life itself, such as murder or assault, are much more frequent in hot climates than in cold, not only because of the greater excitability of the nature of the individual, but because of the fact that life is always held cheaper in warm than in cold regions, as it is easier to rear and support large families. Then too, the death-rate being higher, people living in warm climates are more accustomed to seeing death and of course think less about it. The same is found true in regard to seasons, there being more crimes against the person in warm weather than in cold. On the contrary, we find that crimes against property increase with cold weather, being much more serious in winter than in summer. The temptation increases with cold weather: the demand for food, clothes, and shelter is greater and the opportunity of providing them becomes less; hence a resort to unlawful measures follows. Every winter we find newspapers calling attention to the so-called "crime wave" that is sweeping their city or the country in general. The same situation does not, however, hold true in regard to climates, for the inhabitants of Africa, Mexico, Central America, and other warm climates are noted for their thieving habits. But this is probably due to the fact that northern countries have stabler governments.

2. **Social Environment.**—The causes included under this heading are much more important, and at the same time much harder to separate and analyze, than those due to physical environment. These come under several heads.

(1). **Family Demoralization.**—In our treatment of divorce we found that the breaking up of the family produced among other things juvenile delinquency. Again under poverty we found that the children of parents, who are obliged to be

away from home to work are thrown out upon the street to shift for themselves. Also that the inmates of the reform schools and those children coming before the juvenile courts come from the homes that are broken up or demoralized by family troubles and by poverty; in fact between eighty-five and ninety per cent of the children in the reform schools come from disorganized homes. Dependent children drift into crime for the same reasons. Illegitimate children are still more prone to commit crime, for not only are they subject to all the temptations, but they are shunned by society. Domestic troubles also contribute to the crime of adults as well, for if the home is not happy the tendency is for them to drift to the saloon, dance hall, and gambling table, where the temptation is increased. The majority of our prisoners in the United States are unmarried — sixty-four per cent in 1904, but this is partly the result of crime, the inmates spending so much time in prison that the opportunity of marrying becomes less. The life of crime does not allow one to settle down; it keeps the criminal constantly on the move. On the other hand, family life has its steadying effect on the individual, especially if that family life is happy.

(2). *Poverty*. — We have already noted that poverty and crime go hand in hand. Poverty increases the temptation, incites dissatisfaction with government, and breeds a contempt for law and order, arising from the belief that government protects merely the wealthy and that the law was made for the rich man and not for the poor. When a man has a family that is in dire need and when he at the same time cannot get employment or earn a living wage, there is a great deal of reason for such a line of thinking. Poverty tends to discourage, and thus often leads to crime. Of course poverty does not inevitably result in crime, but it intensifies the temptation and so increases crime — that is, if the poverty is extreme. People are continually wanting things, and if they cannot get them legally they frequently are not strong enough to withstand the temptation to get them in any way. This is seen even among well-to-do and people of means. Lack of work, rise in cost of food, etc., generally increase crime.

(3). *Maladjustment of Industry*. — Strikes, lockouts, periods of depression, crises, and changes in industry upset the stability of conditions and often lead to violence and crime. This is especially true in times of strikes and lockouts, when both sides lose control of themselves and resort to

violence; then destruction of property, blows, and even murder are the result. In bitter strikes both factions occasionally become desperate and forget law and order. To this list might also be added low wages, child labor, long hours of work, and the like.

(4). *Density of Population.*—We also find more crime in cities than in rural districts, not because people in cities are naturally criminal — for they are not — but because temptation is greater; there is greater opportunity to commit crime. Then too, criminals go from the small towns and rural districts to the centers of population in order to avoid detection. Because of this about twice as great a percentage of crime is committed in cities as in the country. The “flops” of Chicago are favorite hiding places of criminals; so is the “east side” of New York, the “east side” of London, and the “north end” of Kansas City.

(5). *Defective Courts and Penal System.*—The fact that many offenders escape punishment creates a disregard for law. Severity of punishment never deters, for everyone is egotistic enough to think that if anyone can escape he can. What does deter is certainty of detection and punishment, even if the punishment be light. The fact that so many slip thru our courts advertises their inefficiency. Defects in handling the prisoner after he is sentenced increase crime, for instead of working towards reformation, as a prison should do, it has in the past hardened him. Allowing first offenders to associate with hardened criminals, especially for several months in the county jails, makes criminals out of otherwise law-abiding persons. Also the difficulty and uncertainty of securing justice and the allowing of a verdict to depend upon who has the largest pocketbook cause people to lose confidence in courts. Corruption and graft among police systems hinder the stamping out of crime; policemen are, as a result of connivance on the part of superiors, afraid to arrest noted violators of the law. Short sentences are likely only to increase instead of prevent crime.

(6). *Defective Law and Government.*—This cause works much the same as the preceding one. Allowing bad social conditions to exist often lies at the root of the whole matter. Laws such as those licensing saloons create crime. Laws which impose heavier penalties upon certain classes than others or upon minor offenses encourage people to lose respect for law. Laws which are poorly drawn up are often the causes

of defective courts or the inability of courts to enforce their verdicts. Poor administration of law thru lax or inefficient officials, such as we often find in city governments, allows crime to persist and in truth almost puts a premium upon the committing of crime.

(7). *Race and nationality* also have to be considered. In our study of immigration we found that certain races are more addicted to crime than others. We learned that the Poles are addicted to the use of liquor and under its influence become dangerous and commit many deadly assaults; that the Irish under the same influence commit minor offenses; that the Italians were in past years controlled by the "black hand". The American negro likewise is especially addicted to petty thefts and minor offenses. Many nationalities are noted for their high criminal rate, particularly those of eastern Asia and Central and South America.

(8). *Education or Lack of It.* — Altho an educated "crook" is much more dangerous than an uneducated one, the educated person is much less liable to become a criminal. In fact it is found that few inmates of the ordinary prison have much education. Not only is the percentage of illiteracy high among criminals, but those who can read and write have less education than the average man, the majority stopping school long before they finish the grades — before they receive enough instruction to become really efficient at anything. This is especially true of the major offenders, where the percentage of illiteracy is about double that of the general population. Education not only gives efficiency but teaches respect for law and keeps the child off the streets or out of temptation during the years in which character is most developed. While the best educational system possible will not stop crime, it will go a long way towards checking it. If an educational system is defective and does not serve its true purpose, it will allow crime to increase faster than it otherwise would. If it omits moral instruction, physical education, or industrial training, it is to that extent defective. One needs a sound body to be moral, and a chance to succeed in life to be law-abiding. An educational system that will make the child hate learning will encourage that child to leave school at as early an age as possible and will kill the influence of the school. The extension of such schemes as the Gary school plan will tend to keep down crime. Also the providing of

special schools for the dull and the precocious children will have the same effect.

Along with the school in its educational effect must be considered the public libraries, the magazines, and the press, especially the press. The space given to crimes and immorality and divorce cases in our newspapers advertises those things and teaches people to imitate them. Newspapers often open up ways to crime by suggesting plans of operation; they attract attention to crime and arouse dormant tendencies.

(9). *Harmful social amusements*, and the lack of healthful amusement, drive people, especially the poor, who have not the means to choose anything else, to seek amusement at the saloon, the pool hall, the dance hall, the gambling house, vulgar theatrical performances, and similar places of entertainment. Such amusements spread vice and crime. This is being counteracted now by the substitution of healthful amusement; the putting in of free parks in our cities with their baseball, football, and basketball grounds, tennis courts, golf links, bathing beaches, skating rinks, and gymnasiums. The moving picture show is driving the vulgar theatrical out of business, and if it can be controlled so as to eliminate the vulgar and sensational, it will have an uplifting effect, and do its share in furnishing healthful diversion. Probably no stronger check to crime could be instituted than furnishing the public with clean healthful sport and amusement.

(10). *Social habits and customs*, such as treating; the carrying of concealed weapons; serving cigarettes in polite society; low necked dresses — in short, those customs and habits that are demoralizing to character and increase temptation, but customs which society still allows.

Subjective Causes of Crime. — These are largely biological and are sometimes rather conditions attending crime than causes of it.

1. *Degeneracy, Physical, Mental, and Moral.* — Feeble-mindedness, insanity, and epilepsy are closely connected with crime. The person who is weak is the person who gets into trouble. It is the same with the student; the student who will cheat in the examination room or copy someone else's work is the one who is a weakling, who is not strong enough to resist temptation, or who has not the mental ability or will power to work the matter out for himself. The person who aids him in this way is also one who is not strong enough to say "no". It is the same way with drinking and smoking

cigarettes — it is largely the weakling who takes up those habits, the one who is not man enuf to resist them. It is likewise with crime — the feeble-minded or weak willed person is not able to withstand temptation and falls into crime. It is asserted that in the prisons where studies in regard to mental capacity have been made that fully one-fourth of the inmates are feeble-minded. One has only to visit a penitentiary to notice that the majority of the prisoners are under normal or are peculiar. They are also below normal physically. Criminals are drawn largely from the lowest strata of society, from the scum and riff-raff. Criminals, paupers, imbeciles, drunkards, prostitutes, and other degenerates come, to a great extent, from the same family stocks. One needs only to study the Jukes, Kallikak, Nam, and Hill-folks families to prove this. While not all criminals are degenerate, a much larger percentage is found among them than in the ordinary population.

2. *Intemperance or Drunkenness.* — This is in part an objective cause, but has to be classified here. It has been stated on good authority that between ninety and ninety-five per cent of crime in the United States in the past was mixed up in some way or other with liquor and that fully one-half of the crime committed was the direct result of liquor. Since the advent of prohibition empty jails and idle police courts testify to the truth of such statements. One does things under the influence of liquor which he or she would not do otherwise. Also liquor weakens the will and reduces the power of resistance. It influences in a myriad of other ways. With liquor might be classified drugs and opiates.

3. *Age.* — Most criminals are young — between the ages of twenty and forty as a rule; in fact the average of those confined in the penitentiaries is about twenty-seven or twenty-eight. The reason for this is apparent: crimes are committed during the active period of life, when the person is physically at his best. Later in life if the person has not died or reformed he loses his nerve and settles down and acts as a fence for younger criminals. The life of the criminal is hazardous, and many die young.

4. *Sex.* — In the United States ninety-five per cent of the criminals are men. In Europe the percentage of women is somewhat higher, but in all countries male criminals greatly outnumber the female. This is not all due to the fact that man is naturally more criminal, but partly to the fact that

women, when they want crimes committed, get men to act for them. The women are weaker physically and lack the courage to commit crime, especially the graver offenses. They are apt to commit misdemeanors and minor offenses which do not come under the pale of the law. Then perhaps still more important, women are much less vigorously prosecuted in court than men. If in need women are more apt to be driven into prostitution than to theft. Moreover, there are in the United States about two millions more of men than of women; also immigrants are mostly men, and they furnish a fairly high criminal rate. But then it has to be admitted that woman is more conservative and is more willing to obey the law, standing in much greater awe of it than man does. She is much more accustomed to obey. Then she does not as a rule have the temptation, being kept more in the home; so she does not have the chance to commit offenses that man has.

5. *Habits, Sentiments, and Ideals; in Fact All Kinds of Acquired Characteristics.*—The bulk of these may be traced back, at least in part, to objective causes, yet they must be considered here also. Many of them have been developed by the "gang", also by home environment as well. These ideals are not created suddenly but are the results of education. They show imitation of the bad rather than the good actions of society.

6. *Sexual Passions.*—This point is closely connected with the preceding one, but is worthy of special notice. The passions cause such crimes as rape, seduction, and assault, and even lead to other crimes as murder, arson, etc.

Criminal Psychology.—A great deal has been written about criminal psychology, yet the bulk of this discussion is merely an elaboration of the physical indications of criminal tendencies and an enumeration of abnormalities of mind found in the criminal. Altho such studies are extremely interesting and very suggestive, they seldom bring us to any definite conclusion. But the subject cannot be adequately treated in a work as brief as this, and therefore it must be left to special courses and treatises on criminology. In this connection we may, however, call attention to the theories of Lombroso and the investigations of Goring.

Italian School of Criminal Anthropology.—About 1875 there came into prominence in Italy a school of criminologists, known as the Italian School of Criminal Anthropology.

gists, headed by Cæsar Lombroso, who took the position that crime was largely due to atavism, or the reversion to savage or animal types. This school postulated that there was a more or less definite criminal type and that individuals of this type could be distinguished from ordinary persons because of certain physical and mental peculiarities. It proceeded from the principle that there is an intimate relation between bodily and mental conditions and processes; and in accordance with this theory Lombroso began an examination of the physical characteristics and peculiarities of the criminal offender. He found out that as a rule the criminal, particularly the habitual criminal, can be distinguished from the average members of society by a much higher percentage of physical anomalies in the way of malformations of the skull, face, brain, and sense organs, such as hare-lips, high palates, and bad teeth; also by such personal irregularities as excessive length of limbs and sexual peculiarities, most noticeably feminism would be found in men and masculinism in women. He also discovered mental anomalies like nervousness, morbidness, excessive vanity, irritability, love of revenge, and, in short, habits akin to those of uncivilized tribes. He ranked the criminal as a product of pathological and atavistic anomalies, standing midway between the lunatic and the savage. There has been much opposition to this theory on the ground that these peculiarities belong also to the insane, the epileptic, the victim of alcoholism, the prostitute, and the habitual pauper, as well as to the criminal, and that the criminal is only one branch of a decadent stem, or one member of a degenerate family group. Lombroso and his followers, especially Ferri, went so far as to try to separate the criminal class into different types, each distinguishable by certain physical and mental peculiarities, and to contend that certain physical anomalies indicate certain criminal tendencies. While the theories of Lombroso are interesting and suggestive, they have been discarded as unscientific and are no longer believed. Without question these peculiarities he points out do to some extent exist, but they are rather effects of criminal life than causes of it. The fact that the criminal comes in a large number of cases from the degenerate portion of our population (as is especially pointed out by Goring) would naturally make us expect to find a much heavier percentage of physical and mental failings and peculiarities.

Investigations of Goring.—Goring in his investigation and study of 300,000 English convicts contends that criminality is not a morbid state like a disease which can be recognized by observation and prescribed for, that as individuals criminals possess no physical or mental characteristics which are not shared by all people, and that there are no physical or mental peculiarities or characteristics common to all criminals. Yet he admits that criminals as a class are generally defective, both physically and mentally, and points out further that thieves and burglars, who make up ninety per cent of the number of criminals, are inferior to the general population (and even to other criminals), not because they are criminals, but because they are drawn from the lowest social strata.

Goring's investigations disprove Lombroso's theory of a criminal type, and also his theory about being able to distinguish between the different classes of criminals. Goring shows that differences do exist among criminals, but precisely as they do among normal persons. He does, however, note some characteristics — namely:¹

(1). That there is no relation between sickness and crime, that if there is any difference lawbreakers enjoy better health than the law-abiding. Also that mortality from accidental negligence and from infectious fevers and similar diseases is reduced by prison confinement.

(2). That there is a high degree of relationship between crime and insanity, altho crime is not a cause of insanity.

(3). That epilepsy has a confirmed relationship to the committing of crime.

(4). That alcoholism plays an important part and is a cause of the high mortality rate of criminals and the prevalence of alcoholic diseases.

(5). That there is a similar relationship between sexual looseness and crime, and that this is a reason for the prevalence of syphilis to such a high degree.

(6). That chronic diseases, instead of causing crime, are a deterrent, as they prevent the person from pursuing a criminal career.

(7). That the death-rate is about the same as in the respective classes of society from which the criminals come.

(8). That altho the criminals come from the most pro-

¹Goring, Charles, "*The English Convict*".

lific stock in the community, they themselves have fewer children; that as illustration, of the general population in England 621 out of 1000 marry and have on an average of 5.66 children, and of criminals 629 out of 1000 marry and have 3.5 children, or a ratio of 5 to 8; that this is due not to sterility but to the breaking up of the homes, desertion of family, and the interruption of family life. It is noted that fertility thus decreases with the frequency of incarceration and that habitual criminals are more inclined to be bachelors. In other words, marital conditions are much the same as we should expect to find.

(9). *Heredity*. — That the tendency to crime is inherited in about the same degree as other qualities of men; that the influence of parental contagion is considerable, varying with the conditions.

In his conclusion at the end of his "English Convict" Goring sums up as follows:

"The physical and mental constitution of both criminal and law-abiding persons of the same age, stature, class, and intelligence are identical. There is no such thing as an anthropological criminal type. Yet in spite of this it appears to be an indisputable fact that there is a physical, mental, and moral type of normal persons, who tend to be convicted of crime. That is to say, the criminal of English prisons is markedly differentiated by defective physique as measured by stature and bodily weight; by defective mental capacity and by a possession of wilful anti-social proclivities. The thief has a smaller, narrower head than the policeman who arrests him, not because he is a thief but because he is inferior. One-thirteenth of the persons in England are at some time convicted, and if all had to pass by in groups of thirteen and the poorest looking, physically and mentally, were picked from each group this new group would correspond to the prison type. That there lies in the physical constitution the existence of a peculiar psychic power by which one was liable to become a criminal was the old theory. The new idea is that he is not born a criminal but made one. We find close bonds between defective physique and defective mentality. Alcoholic diseases, like the venereal ones, are determinants of crime. But we are not able to establish any definite relationship between crime and such social conditions as parental neglect, poverty, etc. *** That imprisonment does not materially affect the health of the criminal, whose health is about the same as when outside."

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CHAPTER XXII

CRIME (*Continued*)

TREATMENT OF THE CRIMINAL

In the early history of crime the criminal was treated according to the principle of revenge. This theory was supplanted by that of repression, or the attempt to stamp out crime. In turn this idea has given way to the principle of reformation, which now is being combined with and supplanted more and more by that of prevention, or the preventing of crime before it is committed. While no time limits can be set to prevalence of these different theories, this is the order of their evolution; in that order we shall study them.

1. *Theory of Revenge.* — The “tooth for a tooth” and “eye for an eye” idea was merely an illustration of this theory which for centuries governed the treatment of criminals. The laws or rules of society allowed the person injured or his relatives to obtain revenge on the person who committed the injury. The “blood avenger” of the Old Testament was a person given this power. Sometimes the person who committed the injury became the slave of the injured person for a stated period of time or for life. The despoiler of the Roman home was turned over to the angry husband to treat as he saw fit. Punishment was retaliation; the aim was to see the offender suffer to pay for the suffering he had caused. As long as revenge was the governing motive, punishments were generally death, mutilation, torture, whipping, and slavery; one shudders even to read the accounts of the punishments of antiquity. Human ingenuity was taxed to its utmost to invent tortures and methods of execution by which death would be as long drawn out as possible and the unhappy wretch made to suffer to the limit of his endurance. Crucifixion, applying the boot, impaling, flaying, burning, sawing asunder, boiling in oil, burying alive, breaking on the wheel, whipping with the knout, drawing and quartering, starvation, and similar punishments are merely examples of some of the forms chosen. For minor offenses lesser punishments, such as branding, mutilating, and

flogging, were used. The theory was that not only was it good to make people suffer for their wrongs, but the sight of their suffering prevented others from committing the same offenses. This theory gradually gave place to the idea that there was a more or less definite criminal class and that it was the duty of society to put it down or stamp it out of existence; this is our next period — the one of repression.

2. *Theory of Repression.* — The period in which this theory was upheld was hardly less bloody than the preceding one, except that death was not so cruelly produced. Thinking that there was a criminal class and being alarmed over the increase of crime, the public took upon itself the work of ridding society of these criminals. Death was made the penalty for nearly all crimes, over two hundred offenses being punished by death in England at one time and over one hundred in France. A French judge at Nancy boasted of burning over eight hundred persons in sixteen years, and Judge Jeffrey made his name infamous by his perseverance in the carrying out of what he considered his duty by sentencing to death every one whom he possibly could. Seventy-two thousand were hanged during the reign of Henry VIII, a period of thirty-eight years. The world finally grew tired of the shedding of blood and substituted banishment and transportation for many offenses. Penal colonies were established in various parts of the world, including Australia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. For this reason America for a long time caught a large number of the criminals of Europe. Branding was abolished and torture went out of existence. These penalties did not fit into the scheme of repression, altho they were used to intimidate the people; but it was finally brot to the attention of the public that such penalties did not stop crime, that the seeing of people suffer did not deter others from committing crime, but on the contrary it increased it, for the sight of suffering hardened them and created a desire to see more people suffer. Then, too, repression did not prevent crime; the world was breeding crime faster than it could harvest the criminals. For every criminal that it executed the world was bringing into existence another, and usually more than one, to take his place. Property was unequally distributed, justice was only for the strong, laws were for the rulers; misery was everywhere, vice was rampant. It is no wonder that crime flourished. Yet the theory of repression prevailed

down to very recent times — and it prevails in many places even today. Perhaps we do not want to kill the criminals, as in the past; we merely want to put them in prison, but the theory is often the same. Because severity, repression, and intimidation do not prevent crime this method was a failure and had to give way to that of reformation.

3. *Theory of Reformation.* — This theory is very modern; it has come into vogue almost since the nineteenth century. Instead of trying to get revenge on the criminal for his act or to repress crime by killing off the criminal class, we have changed our idea gradually to that of reformation. Instead thinking of the criminal as being incorrigible or belonging to a class which could not be reconciled with society, we gained the idea that the criminal was much like other human beings and that he committed crime, not because of innate tendencies, but because his training or environment were either defective or contaminating. This theory was partly the result of finding that the bulk of crime is caused by environment. With the coming in of this theory the treatment of the criminal changed radically from that of severity and abuse to that of fairness and consideration. The new point of view brot about a complete reform in the management of prisons and other penal institutions. Instead of being subjected to hard, deadening labor the prisoner was taught a trade. Instead of sending him out into the world to drift back into crime again the state tried to get him employment. Instead of flogging and other brutal methods of discipline more humane methods came into use. Modern reforms like probation, parole, the indeterminate sentence, and the honor system were made possible. It was found that the former methods of handling prisoners made them worse and hardened them to a life of crime. All prisoners cannot of course be reformed but many can be, and the result has proved to be well worth the effort.

4. *Theory of Prevention.* — While we recognize the value of reformation, we have now come to realize that it is not the end; that the chief aim is not to reform criminals after they have entered a life of crime, but instead to prevent their even entering such a life, or, in other words, to lock the stable door before the theft occurs. The juvenile court with its system of probation was originated in order to save children from becoming criminals. But still more than this, the aim

should be to remove bad home conditions, defective industrial conditions, faulty government, unjust courts, crowded housing conditions — in short to remedy those conditions of society which are the causes of crime. This is the present theory in regard to the proper attitude towards crime. In practice we have not yet reached such a stage, altho we are headed in the right direction. This must be supplemented of course by reformatory treatment of the criminals which we have already in society.

Different Types of Prisons. — Prisons of antiquity were places made not for punishment but for safekeeping, being generally dungeons located in underground chambers beneath palaces, forts, or castles, or in some dismal or inaccessible place. In these dungeons the prisoner was retained for trial or for ransom, or merely kept out of the way or held for torture. These were dismal, dreary, and often disease-ridden places. The prisoners were usually chained or shackled to the wall, to rocks, or to iron bars. They were fed the poorest food, and little of that. Often they were left to decay or to live years of lingering death. Persons were not sentenced there for definite terms; in fact prison sentences for the purpose of punishment are of comparatively recent origin. The prisons of the Middle Ages were little better than the prisons of antiquity, being mostly in the castles of the barons and used for the confinement of personal enemies. When prisons were used by the state they were places of neglect, where the prisoner was much more apt to die of disease and filth than he was to live to see the end of his sentence. Of recent years prisons have been systematized and made to follow three more or less definitely worked out plans, known as the Pennsylvania, Auburn, and Elmira types, getting their names from the first prisons of their kinds in the United States.

1. The Pennsylvania type is characterized by the individual cell idea, each person living in a separate cell — eating, sleeping, and working there. It was first tried in England about 1785 and was introduced into the United States in 1790 at Philadelphia. It was adopted in a few other places but was not copied much in the United States; it was soon abandoned. It has some advantages, including: (1). There is ease of government because of the little need of discipline; (2) prisoners do not associate, and so upon discharge cannot recognize each other, hence are less frequently tempted;

(3) because of the greater chance for reflection on the part of the prisoner reformatory agencies have a better chance. These good points are more than overbalanced by the objections, some of which are: (1) Isolation has a bad mental effect upon the mind and body; (2) solitude is not complete because of visits from officials of various grades and often of questionable character; moreover, because of the use of signals isolation is not complete; (3) prisoners are never free from the company of their own thots — often their worst enemies; (4) instruction is made more difficult thru the absence of class instruction; (5) it is much more difficult to oversee work and to find suitable employment for all.

2. The Auburn type is named after the prison at Auburn, New York, established in 1816. Here absolute silence was enforced, but the convicts were worked in a body or in large groups in large workshops. The discipline was severe and strict. This plan was adopted generally thruout the United States and is still in use to some extent, altho it has given way largely to the Elmira system or to a combination of the two.

3. The Elmira system is named after the Elmira Reformatory in New York, which opened its doors in 1876. The plan gained its reputation here, altho many of the ideas had been used before, especially in Australia. It is a combination of marks, grades, and parole under the indeterminate sentence, the marks and grades being used to show when the prisoner is ready for parole, in this way they are used as rewards or punishments. Prisoners are usually taught trades and receive educational instruction and religious training. The discipline, while not brutal, is more exacting and unremitting than in the ordinary prison and for this reason is less liked by the worst men. Reformation is the keynote; the endeavor is to fit the prisoner for life, and so make him more able to fight life's battles. The system is especially applicable to young prisoners and first offenders. It has its disadvantages in that it opens up chances for bribery and corruption of the prison officials, and often gives more power to the warden than he is capable of using, but this is more the fault of officials than of the system. It has been adopted in whole or in part in most of the states, including Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Minnesota, Kansas, and South Dakota. It is the accepted plan of today, for it gives a

criminal who has really reformed and is ready to take his place in society the opportunity to leave the prison. In this way, coupled with the indeterminate sentence and parole, it is especially successful. It compels us to study the criminal and to apply to him the individual treatment which is necessary in order to give him justice.

The American prison experience has not been so successful as it should have been, nor so successful as that of some other countries, such as England, for example. It has been either severe to the point of cruelty or lax to the point of weakness. This has been owing to the fact that wardens as a rule have been political appointees who were unfit for their positions. In the past our prisons often were perfect hell-holes, even in such state penitentiaries as those of Missouri, Ohio, Texas, Georgia, and Tennessee, which have served us as notorious examples of what ought not to be. Prisons were great manufacturing establishments run by contractors, because the contract system paid best. The state took little interest, except to make the prisons pay, and the financial test was the measure of success of a system. Self-control was not encouraged and the prisons, instead of helping the prisoner, ordinarily sent him back into life a greater enemy to society than he was when he entered. In recent years there has been a change and our leading penitentiaries are becoming very efficient; many are just the opposite to what they formerly were. Wardens are now chosen because of fitness rather than politics, and really capable men, such as former Warden Simpson of Michigan State Prison at Jackson, are accepting the positions. Greater success is the result of such a choice.

Prison Work. — The question of finding work for prisoners has always been more or less of a problem, but in general the following systems have been adopted:

1. *Contract system*, or the letting out of the work of the prisoners to a contractor who comes into the prison and establishes the industry. He usually pays to the state a lump sum or a certain amount for each prisoner and works the prisoners as hard as he can, paying them nothing, or possibly a small amount for extra work. The fault with this system is that it gives the discipline over to private individuals who are interested only in the profit and who care nothing for the reformation of the prisoner; whether he or she does the

required amount of work is the only test of conduct. From a financial standpoint it generally pays the state fairly well. It also relieves the state of buying machinery and establishing a factory, and it frees the warden from a great deal of responsibility and care. It was once adopted in most of our penitentiaries, but is now being discarded. Because it gives a few manufacturers an advantage on account of the hiring of cheaper labor it has been much objected to by other manufacturers and by organized labor especially. It will soon be a thing of the past.

2. *The lease system*, or the farming out of prisoners to contractors who take the prisoners away from the penitentiary and assume entire charge over them—working, feeding, clothing, and housing them. It has generally resulted in gross brutality, the convicts being worked to the limit of their endurance—often to the point of death—in their being fed the cheapest and poorest of food and housed in dirty, filthy shacks, and in their being shackled together at night and often chained to a ball or guarded by men with shotguns and dogs during the day. The treatment is often brutal and demoralizing to the extreme, and it is difficult to imagine that such a country as the United States would ever adopt this method; yet it has been used in the majority of our Southern states, including Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida; in the last named state it was used so late as 1916. The whole system is wrong, for it gives to individuals not only the treatment of prisoners but control over their very lives. The author knows of no arguments in favor of this shiftless and brutal system.

3. *Piece-price system*, by which the state pays the prisoners a certain amount for each piece of work done. This often requires an elaborate system of bookkeeping and is difficult to operate on this account; yet it is preferable by far to the two previously discussed systems. It gives the worker a chance to aid his family at home or save money. It is often used successfully in connection with either of the two systems yet to be named.

4. *Public account system*, by which the state puts in the factory or runs the industry. This requires much machinery and investment and so demands business ability to carry out. But by this plan the wardens can maintain a definite system of management. The goods, however, are sold on the open

market in competition with free labor; also there is danger of graft and scandal caused by inability of wardens to manage such an industry. This system in combination with the piece-price system of paying the prisoners has been worked out with remarkable success in the Michigan State Prison at Jackson, but as a rule it is not considered so feasible as the public use system.

5. *The public use system*, or the manufacture of articles or commodities to be used by the state in the various institutions, thus freeing the state from the necessity of going into the market to purchase these necessary commodities and also saving the state from having to put the prison made goods on the market. It thus saves the state money, and also allows the warden to work out his own scheme of management. Moreover, it has a psychological effect upon the prisoners, for they feel much more like working if they know that the public will gain rather than a private contractor who is getting rich from their toil and who drives them as hard as he can. The writer noticed this particularly at the Bridewell in Chicago, in the making of bread for the municipal lodging house.

Some Modern Methods in the Treatment of Crime.
 — **Juvenile Courts.** — Juvenile courts are recent, the first court of this nature having been instituted in Boston in 1898. Chicago followed the example of Boston in 1899 and Denver in 1901, and the idea quickly spread, largely due to the advertising given it by Judge Benjamin F. Lindsay, the juvenile court judge of Denver. This is one method of criminal procedure in which the United States leads the world. The origin of it is found in the belief that the child who commits an offense and is arrested and treated in the same manner as an adult was not receiving justice, and that instead of being reformed he became hardened. This was especially true if he was thrown into the ordinary jail with hardened criminals. So a new procedure was instituted. Instead of following the ordinary court method the judge usually hears the cases in his chambers or in a less awe inspiring method than that of the criminal court. Instead of having lawyers and calling witnesses in the usual manner, the child is generally brot up to the judge, who has a friendly talk with him, hears witnesses if the child admits the offense and if it is the first offense, instead of being sentenced he is put

on probation under the care of a probation officer, who visits him and to whom he is required to report at stated intervals. He is usually also required to visit the judge regularly, generally on Saturday mornings; to those meetings he is required to bring a report from his school teacher. If these reports are good and the probation officer reports that he is behaving himself, the child is released at the end of the time stated, ordinarily from six weeks to six months. This system requires a proper force of probation officers, who must be skilled in this work; some of them must be women to handle the cases of delinquent girls and small boys. It necessitates also a detention home to prevent the sending of children to the lockup. As a rule, except in large cities, a judge need not give all his time to juvenile cases; so he often gives but one day a week to them, hearing on other days regular cases. The juvenile court also handles cases of dependent children as well as delinquent ones, and often summons the parents to court if they are contributory to the delinquency of the children or fail to care for them. It also calls in others who may be contributory and does much good in this way. The whole system goes at the problem in the right manner and attempts to prevent crime by stopping the youth before he gets started on a life of crime. If probation does not succeed, the child is sent to a reform school, there to be kept, if necessary, till he reaches the age of twenty-one; just a procedure prevents the child from being sent to the regular jail. Before the juvenile courts came into existence we were sending annually five thousand children in the United States to jail, and in nearly every case were swelling the number of criminals just that much. In 1901 sixty-five reformatories in this country had harbored up to that time 210,999 children. The preventive work of the juvenile court has found a responsive vein in the American public: the press, the pulpit, and the lecture platform have advertised it; and the results have been so remarkably successful that it has spread all over the United States; until at the present time practically all our cities have juvenile courts in some form or other, working with varying degrees of success. In some places, especially Chicago, we have gone to other extreme and have been entirely too lenient, putting everyone on probation without providing proper systems of probation officers and without building proper reform school facilities to care

for those who break their probation or who drift back again into delinquency. The result of this failure is that children lose their respect for the law. This is not a fault of the system, but with the methods of carrying it out; the whole scheme of course requires judges and probation officers of peculiar ability in order to handle the children. Not only has the juvenile court been very successful in handling juvenile delinquency and in saving the country from thousands of future criminals and consequent endless expense, but it has also given us a method of treating adults — that is, probation.

Indeterminate Sentence, Probation, and Parole. —

While all three of these methods are separate, they are treated together because they overlap, since they carry out the same principle — that is, returning the criminal to society. By indeterminate sentence we mean the sentencing a prisoner who has been convicted not to a definite term of years, such as five or eight, but to an unstated number of years. In the United States we usually fix a maximum and a minimum, altho the present tendency is to reduce the maximum and eliminate the minimum. This leaves the matter of length of sentence to a board or commission, usually the Board of Parole, consisting generally of the warden, sometimes the judge sentencing, the prison physician or chaplain, and some outside disinterested person or persons, who settle the question of when the prisoner shall be released. These members govern themselves not so much by the offense as by the conduct of the prisoner and the probable chance of his becoming a law-abiding citizen. They consider the future — the effect on the community and on him.

Incorporated with the indeterminate sentence, in order to make it successful, generally goes parole, the releasing of a prisoner from prison to serve the remainder of his term outside the walls. He is usually required to report at stated intervals and is visited by a parole officer who sees whether he is law-abiding. To get parole, work must as a rule be provided before the prisoner is released. About three-fourths of our states now have indeterminate sentence laws and make use of parole, some even for such offenses as murder, after ten or fifteen years have been served. While some prisoners violate their parole, from seventy-five to eighty-five per cent of those paroled live up to the terms of it and never bother the state again. About one-half or two-thirds of those who

violate it are caught later and returned to serve out their maximum sentences. These are generally the habitual criminals who while in prison create model records in order to get out earlier. On the whole, the plan is very successful and is being extended more and more.

Probation is slightly different. Instead of being released from prison before the time of their sentence has expired, offenders are not even sent to prison, generally having sentence passed upon them but being released upon good behavior. This is merely an extension of probation to the adult, resulting from the experience with juveniles, and is used mostly with first offenders and those who commit minor offenses. If carried out under a proper system of probation officers, it often works very well, provided the judges use discretion in granting it; but too often the hardened criminal takes advantage of it by pleading first offense, and if it is his first offense in that court or that city he often succeeds and thus escapes justice. In this respect probation is not so successful as parole, for it does not give the judge the chance of investigation that parole does, for under parole there is time to investigate and find out if the offender is wanted elsewhere for other offenses; under probation this chance is not given. Judges are often too busy to search for all the facts or are not capable of making accurate decisions. A judicious use of probation for adults is all right and highly justifiable, provided it is backed up by a proper number of probation officers, but without such a system it often degenerates into a farce. Probation and parole are too often confused in the popular mind and parole is condemned for the sins of probation.

Honor System. — This system differs from the preceding ones in that it consists in allowing the prisoner to leave the walls of the prison on his word or on his honor not to try to escape, but to return. This was first tried in Oregon a few years ago. There the governor got rid of the contracts that had been formed by finding technicalities in them, but then he met with the difficulty in obtaining work for the prisoners; so he tried the experiment of getting work for them outside the walls. The plan proved so successful that it has been copied in other states. Of the 1,700 prisoners in the Ohio penitentiary about three hundred work outside of the walls, some so far as forty miles from the penitentiary; many work under convict foremen. Of the first three hundred and

eighteen, eighteen violated the parole, but nine of these were returned. Of the one thousand or so prisoners at Jackson, Michigan, two hundred are continually at work on their honor on the prison farm, several miles from the walls, and altogether about one-half of the prisoners are allowed at different times this privilege; fewer violate the privilege than escape from the prison by going over the walls in spite of the guards. In fact it is generally considered dishonorable to sneak away. This is especially so in Colorado, where sixty-five per cent of the men are engaged in road-making. Then only those who have good records and who have served a considerable part of their terms, thus becoming eligible for parole, are allowed to leave the walls. Since the risk of getting caught and serving a much longer term is greater than simply serving the remainder of the term, there is practically no incentive to violate the honor. Because outside work is much preferred to inside work, the prisoners are careful to watch each other and thus prevent running away. The physical effect is good as a result of getting the prisoners out into the open; the moral effect is much greater, for the system gives them greater confidence, since they know that they are being trusted. It gives them greater self-control and thus makes them better fitted to take their places in life after discharge. Greater privileges, such as conversation, the use of tobacco, and the wearing of ordinary citizen's clothing, are usually granted. Thus the prisoner feels more like a man again. No prison, except a jail in Vermont, has attempted to put all its prisoners on their honor; so it is a privilege and an indication of distinction to be given this privilege. This jail in Vermont allowed its prisoners to go out to work on the farms for two dollars a day, one dollar of which the prisoner kept. It is found that the hardened convict, accustomed to the old methods of harsh treatment — flogging, tying up, the water cure, the lock-step, stripes, etc. — responds most readily to the honor system, for it is new to him. Whether in the future after we have become used to it it will continue to be successful is of course a question, but thus far it has more than justified itself. A most novel phase of the honor system, in fact a very advanced form of it, was tried at Sing Sing by Warden Osborne, who instituted a system of self-government, by which the prisoners thru committees fixed the punishments for the violations of the rules. Osborne, by means of his personality, made this such a success that Sing Sing quickly changed from

being probably the worst managed penitentiary in the United States to the model for the country; in fact the success was so pronounced that Warden Osborne was quickly compelled to resign. The work, however, was still continued, for Osborne introduced a system which bids fair to revolutionize our methods of prison treatment. The honor system is extremely modern; yet it is spreading very rapidly. It is now being tried in Indiana with county prisoners in connection with the consolidated country or district workhouses or prison farms for minor offenders.

The whole method of treatment of criminals has greatly changed. The idea of punishment for an injury done and revenge for it has vanished. The idea that the treatment of the criminal must be severe and harsh and his life made as uncomfortable and depressing as possible has given way to the idea that while the treatment must be strict and exacting it must at the same time be humane. The aim must be to reform the prisoner if possible, but if this cannot be done, protect society by confining the criminal in a place where he will be treated humanely, but where he will at least pay for his support. This idea that the criminal is a person who cannot respond to humane treatment and justice is now exploded. He does, as a rule, have some sparks of manhood left in him, which respond if once reached.

The County Jail. — One phase of the problem of crime which has been sadly neglected in the past and which perhaps needs attention now more than any other phase is the county jail. As a rule the average county jail is a miserable structure, often unsanitary and dangerous to the health of the prisoners. Then, too, it is used for all purposes — not only to keep those who are awaiting trial, but to house tramps and those desiring a night's lodging, whether honest and deserving or not. It is often used as a place in which to execute sentences, especially short ones. Here, as a rule, no work is provided; the prisoner is merely supported in idleness at public expense, and that to the detriment of his health. All classes are herded together — boys, hardened criminals, first offenders, and repeaters. It is much the same problem that we noticed in regard to the almshouse. Movements are on foot in some states to consolidate these and have county judges sentence their short term men to farm colonies, where work can be found for all and where proper correctional methods,

such as the honor system, can be used. In Indiana this is working out with remarkable success and is certain to be copied by other states. With the building of proper municipal lodging houses that provide for work the tramp situation can be properly handled. Formerly the tramp who wanted a comfortable berth for the winter would hunt up a comfortable jail and compel, by committing some petty crime in the county, that county to care for him till spring. If he knew that he would have to work hard in some farm colony during the winter, he would not commit the offense—at least not in that locality.

Separate Prisons for Women.—Female prisoners always are a problem because of their small number. In most penitentiaries and prisons there merely are female wards, where the treatment is much the same as that of men and where work is provided which is suitable to them, particularly laundry work, and mending. A few states, including New York and Indiana, have separate prisons and reformatories for women, the Bedford Reformatory in New York being famous for its success in reclaiming women. The problem is still greater in the rural districts where female prisoners are so rare that it does not pay to build separate accommodations; when a woman is arrested, it is a problem as to what to do with her, and often the sheriff has to care for her in his own house.

An experiment is now being tried out in New York and Boston in allowing those fined in court to pay their fines by installments. If it works successfully there, the plan may spread. Suggestions are often made to allow the person who steals or commits an injury to recompense the injured party, or to compel the criminal to repay what damage he causes. This would be difficult to enforce, yet it is very suggestive. If the plan compelled the offender to repay out of wages earned in confinement, it might of course be carried too far. In general, substitutes for imprisonment are continually suggested and many of them, such as probation, parole, and the honor system, have proved themselves worthy of adoption; in times others may win the same recognition.

Scientific Attitude Towards Crime.—The main theory should be prevention, to prevent the making of criminals thru environmental causes; to prevent their being developed by bad industrial, governmental, economic, and social condi-

tions; to remove temptation by having a well organized and efficient government and laws which are enforced by an efficient police force; to have courts that will give justice; to have economic conditions such as to enable a man to earn a living wage; to educate the masses so to fit them for life and citizenship; and thus to make it possible for everyone to live on a better scale and maintain a higher standard of life. We should remove social conditions that are drawbacks to the individual, thus enable each one to reach his best development; we should improve the family situation as much as possible so as to lessen the breaking down of family life. This can be done by remedying home conditions thru visiting nurses, and by removing women and children from industry — where they are forced into it in order to maintain a living. We must supply healthful amusements instead of the saloon, the pool-hall, the gambling room, the dance hall, and the vulgar theatre. These measures will not prevent crime entirely; but such a program if carried far enuf will reduce it to a minimum. This cannot be done in one generation, for it will take several generations to lift the unfortunate families to a higher standard. But this is the way to go about eliminating or reducing the criminal population.

At present we have our criminals and therefore we must deal with them. For doing this a penal system is necessary — a system to execute the sentences of the courts, to protect society from dangerous men, and to awaken the public conscience to the consequences of crime. The keynote of the methods employed should be reformation — whenever reformation is possible. Such a penal system should include one or more state penitentiaries and reformatories, the latter for minor and younger offenders, also reform schools for boys and girls, and possibly a separate reformatory for women. Then there should be workhouses under state control, where the habitual criminals could be deprived of liberty and compelled to work for a living and where the short term men might serve their sentences instead of in the county jail, as they do at present. The reform school should be on top of a good probation system for juveniles; where probation is applied to adults, probation officers also should be employed. There should be separate places for the detaining of people held for other purposes than the working out of sentences, such as keeping the accused for trial and holding witnesses.

These should have separate cells and should be held as short time as possible, especially the witnesses, and should receive good care. The places of detention used today are often worse than the places for working out sentences, notably the Harrison Street police station of Chicago, which is not suitable to be used for a dog kennel, much less for the keeping of human beings. County jails should not be used for the housing of tramps; these should be cared for in well-equipped lodging houses, where work should be required in return. The courts should be equipped with physical and psychological tests so as to send to hospitals and special institutions those who need medical attention and to insane asylums and schools for the feeble-minded those belonging to such institutions. People of these classes should not be compelled to go to the jails or reformatories. Then the federal government must likewise have its system of penitentiaries. The jails and police stations should make provisions for the care of females and should have matrons, or at least helpers subject to call when needed. The treatment of prisoners should be humane but not attractive. They should be compelled to do useful work. The public use system previously described has proved itself in general to be the best system. There should be some way to pay the prisoners for extra work, so as to allow them to aid their families if they have any or to save up for the time when they will be discharged. In the penitentiary at Jackson, Michigan, the prisoners are required to do a certain stint; for what they do beyond that they are paid by the piece, and thus some earn for themselves as much as one dollar a day. This gives the prisoner some incentive to work, and insures the prison against loss. The discipline should be such that it would build up self-respect and honor in the prisoner instead of killing all initiative and will-power. The theory should be not to try to check crime by the severity of treatment, for that is always a failure, but rather to check it by the sureness of punishment. A mild punishment which is certain is feared more than a drastic punishment which is uncertain. Moreover, the idea should be to try to return the criminal to a useful place in society. Also the punishment should be fitted to the person rather than the crime. This will include the indeterminate sentence, and in addition a good system of probation and parole. Then added to this should be the honor system for such as are capable of it. In

short, prevention of future crime and reformation of our present criminal class, wherever possible, should be our aim. Where neither is possible, society should be protected in a humane and just manner.

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CHAPTER XXIV

IMMORALITY

Under sexual immorality might be included all the various forms of sexual crime, such as adultery, incest, rape, and fornication, but these specific types come under the subject of crime and will not be included here. In this chapter the treatment will be limited to the matter of prostitution, or what is generally known as the social evil, and its accompanying conditions. Even here no attempt will be made to enter into the sordid details of the conditions or to trace carefully the history of this problem thru all its horrible past. Prostitution may or may not be a crime, depending upon the attitude of society; but in general it is treated as a problem by itself. Sometimes it is condemned with horrible penalties and at other times it is permitted and even protected by society, being in some countries looked upon as a necessary evil.

History. — Prostitution is almost universal, in that it is found in practically all races and nations, altho in a few places it seems to be unknown. Many have called it a problem of civilization, attempting to show that it is not found among savage tribes, but closer inspection proves that not only is it not unknown among many savages but with some it is carefully regulated. With primitive man the demand or occasion for prostitution was felt much less than with civilized man, and of course it never reached the high state of organization and regulation which it has received under civilization. Civilization brings in problems and conditions which tend to foster it more than primitive life, but prostitution cannot be said to be a product of civilization. Ancient history is full of accounts of this evil. In the Old Testament we find many records of its presence, but it was found not only among the Hebrews but also among the Babylonians, Egyptians, Assyrians, Phœnecians, and other peoples of Asia. In Greece prostitution reached terrible proportions, especially in such cities as Corinth. But it remained for Rome to attain the climax of degeneracy in this respect; in fact the prevalence

and terribleness of this evil in the latter days of Roman history are almost unbelievable. In Europe during the Middle Ages and down to the present day prostitution has continued and has been a problem of varying proportions. During this time it probably reached its height in France at the time of the Bourbon monarchy, encouraged and influenced by the terrible excesses in this line by the monarchs themselves; in fact the whole line of French kings, with possibly a few exceptions, have been noted for their immorality. But then all of the monarchs and nobles of Europe during this entire period were noted for the same failing, the only difference being that possibly the French monarchs led the procession. Prostitution is by no means a thing of the past; it is a problem today in practically all nations of the earth, and is especially bad in France, Germany, and Japan; it is probably less of a problem in the United States than in most nations, especially in that it is a diminishing problem with us.

Causes of Prostitution. — *Supply and Demand.* — Prostitution, like many problems of society, is subject to the great economic principle of supply and demand, man furnishing the demand curve and woman the supply curve. The selfishness of the male in his desire to satisfy his sexual passions at the expense of and contrary to the normal conventions of society and his unwillingness or inability to control this desire constitute the demand side. This is increased largely by the mistaken but too frequently believed notion that sexual indulgence is essential to the health of the adult male. This theory has long since been exploded by science but still persists with many people, and as a result adds enormously to this demand.

The supply side is made up of women recruited by society to live lives of shame in order to meet this demand made by the male. In ancient times the supply was furnished by the slave populations, from whom the prostitutes were enlisted, being either sold into that life or forced into it by their masters, abductors, or seducers. This was particularly true of Greece and Rome, which were filled with huge slave populations. When cities were captured in wars, the women and children, as a rule, were sold into slavery, and naturally a large percentage of the female slaves, who were young and attractive, were forced into this life. At times there were passed laws forcing women into this life, such as those con-

demning Christian virgins to lives of prostitution if they refused to worship the Roman gods, a situation which occurred in Rome during the early days of Christianity. Laws were also passed in Corinth compelling slaves to prostitute themselves for a trifling fee, in order to attract sailors to that place. Rome was crowded with an idle class — gladiators, ruffians, soldiers, and a floating population which contributed to the terrible moral conditions. In the Middle Ages the army of prostitutes was made up largely of aliens, who had been captured thru petty wars and abused by the soldiers, abducted by robbers or ruined by the nobility, and the neglected children of the unfortunate classes. Europe was also full of a floating population — travelers, soldiers of fortune, etc., who added to the natural demand. In modern times the prostitute is usually a citizen who has been induced into the trade or forced to accept it by modern conditions of society. In modern times, too, thru the growth of great cities and industrial centers we find a constantly increasing class of unmarried adults, who add to the demand. There have, moreover, always been moral perverts, who have deliberately chosen lives of shame or by their own actions have been forced by society into an open confession of such a life. These are the natural prostitutes, but they unfortunately have generally furnished only a small part of the number of prostitutes. The demand, if strong and persistent enough, will create a supply; in fact, as we have just pointed out, it has done that in the past by drawing from the ranks of slavery and of alien populations, and is doing it today by drawing from the ranks of organized society.

Biological and Psychological Causes. — These have been largely suggested in our treatment of demand and supply; they are found mainly in human passions and in the lack of ability to control or hold the passions in check. Also there must always be considered the desire for finery and luxury on the part of the female; the fact that prostitution offers an easy method of procuring these luxuries often causes many to take up this life. The desire for excitement and the temptation to do the forbidden are also factors. Then as we shall see in the next chapter, a large percentage of the present-day prostitutes are feeble-minded and consequently lack the ability to control their natures and to withstand temptation. In the past prostitutes have been largely ignorant, illiterate persons, with the exception of those who were forced into it by slavery

and other violent methods. The natural prostitutes enter the profession from biological or psychological reasons, because of innate or acquired perversities of nature. These causes are undoubtedly stronger on the demand side than upon the supply side, because the demand is more biological and psychological.

Economic Causes.—Among the present day economic causes are such conditions as low wages, the large monetary returns from this life, and our present industrial situation. The wages paid by many of the employers of female labor, such as department stores, are not living wages and hence either compel their being supplemented by other means or force the worker to live on a scale which means malnutrition, lack of amusement, insufficient clothing, and a dreariness of existence which at times becomes unendurable. To the worker who has no other means of supplementing a slender income prostitution unfortunately offers an easy method of obtaining more money. While the majority of women will of course prefer starvation to such a means of livelihood, the pressure of poverty and the tremendous temptation is often too much for some with weaker powers of control. Then too often there apparently is no hope of bettering the condition, and the worker who at first abhors such a life weakens and succumbs to temptation.

Besides, under our present industrial regime there is unfortunately a large male population in our cities and industrial centers, whose earnings are for years—in fact often for life—too small to support a family upon the scale which their standard of living demands; as a result marriage is postponed or renounced. In order to satisfy their passions, they—many of them—frequent houses of prostitution and thus keep up the demand side. Under our present program of educating people to the dangers from disease this demand is slowly being cut down, but in the past this element has been a strong factor in the problem. It has been increased by the absence of restraint in the way of relatives and neighbors who know what people are doing, a source of restraint which is found in rural neighborhoods.

Compulsion.—As in the past, this is still a cause of prostitution, altho of course not to the extent it was under slavery and mediæval conditions. Compulsion is both direct and indirect. The demand for women to fill the ranks of prostitutes who die has caused the organization of what is gen-

erally known as the "white slave traffic", by which women are forced into this life. Because of the efforts of the government to break up this traffic it is not carried on in such a bold and successful manner as formerly. But heretofore this business was organized like any legitimate business, having its corps or cadets and procurers, who either by means of trickery, such as offering positions of work, promises of marriage, or mock marriages, beguiled innocent victims into this life, or by kidnapping and coercion, filled the ranks with recruits. Immigrant women and country girls coming to the city were the ones preyed upon the most because of their ignorance of the new conditions and dangers and because of their consequent inability to cope with them. Those receiving starvation wages were also sought and enticed into this life. Often victims were simply captured and reduced to submission by force and violence. Houses of prostitution regularly used means, including chains, the lash, starvation, depriving of clothing, and employment of ruffians, to reduce to submission these recruits. So well organized was the traffic that regular prices were paid for girls, ranging from fifty to one hundred dollars each depending upon the attractiveness of the girl. Girls who lapsed from the paths of virtue were also forced into this life by family and social ostracism, altho the men who ruined them were permitted to remain in the best society. Compulsion has always been used to keep women in this life after they had once entered it, direct, forceful means being used by the brothel keeper to hold their inmates and indirect, subtle ostracism being employed by society to force back into this life all who ever followed it.

Effects of Immorality. — 1. *Disease.* — The two leading diseases, classed in the group of "social diseases", are syphilis and gonorrhea, both of which date back to antiquity. Both are germ diseases, the former being contracted thru blood contact and the latter thru the tissues. While both are the results of immorality, syphilis may be contracted in other ways than sexual intercourse, such as common drinking cups, kissing, towels, bed clothing, and water-closet seats, but gonorrhea is seldom contracted in such a manner. Both can be cured by long and patient treatment, but generally this is not done and as a rule the poison remains dormant in the system, often years after the disease has been apparently cured. This is especially true of syphilis, which has the peculiarity of appearing by stages, which are often many years

apart. While syphilis is generally feared because of its horrible features in the last stages of the disease, and while gonorrhea is often looked upon as a local disease and of minor importance, even at times being considered as of much the same nature as a cold, gonorrhea is in fact much the more serious disease of the two, both in regard to its effects upon society and because of its insusceptibility to cure. If properly administered, "606", discovered by Paul Erletch, is considered a quite dependable cure for syphilis, but as yet no such remedy is available for gonorrhea. The effects of both diseases upon the offspring are terrible. Eight per cent of infantile blindness is due to these diseases, both of them being guilty. Syphilis is especially deadly to the foetus, causing its death or malformation; in fact hospital records show death rates as high as sixty to eighty-six per cent for children when the parents were afflicted with syphilis. While less destructive to the offspring, gonorrhea is more serious to the wife and more destructive to the female organs of reproduction; it is the leading cause of male sterility today. In addition to one-child marriages, where conception took place before the ravages of diseases were affected, nearly sixty per cent of all involuntary sterile marriages are due to these two diseases. Also sixty per cent of all operations upon women for female troubles are occasioned by sexual diseases. Both have hereditary effects; in fact the effects of syphilis are inherited to the third generation. Then, too, both diseases weaken the constitution and thus leave the system liable to such diseases as tuberculosis, cancer, and nervous disorders.

When it is remembered that it is generally estimated that from six to eighteen per cent of the male populations of different countries have syphilis and from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent have gonorrhea, the seriousness of the problem is apparent. Gonorrhea is perhaps the most widespread disease among men; European records show that a few years ago seventy-five per cent of the men had it. It has been estimated in the past that from fifty to sixty per cent of the men in the United States have either one or the other disease. This ratio has fallen during the past few years and will probably continued to fall with still greater rapidity, owing largely to education concerning the matter and to the increasingly greater demands made by women upon the men they marry. The effects upon the birth-rate of nations, as well as upon the health of individuals and the morals of

society, is, of course, terrible. This is probably the greatest cause of the decreasing birth-rate in France. Without question the disease side is the most glaring, if not the most serious, effect of the social evil.

2. *Business Organization.* — As has been suggested, prostitution has caused the organization of brothels, which date back to ancient history, and regular methods of supplying the trade with women, now commonly known as the "white slave traffic". This organization has interwoven itself with many other enterprises. It was vitally connected with the liquor traffic, which made use of prostitution in order to sell more liquor; prostitution in turn made use of liquor in order to stir up the passions of people. Many saloons catered to this traffic because of the increased profits, large prices being obtained in this way for liquor; and prostitutes were often hired by saloons in order to stimulate the sale of liquor. The traffic is also interwoven with politics and police administrations, and makes use of them in defending and protecting the business in much the same manner that the liquor business does.

3. *Family Disorganization.* — While not always mentioned in the bills for divorce, sexual disease and immorality are among the greatest causes of divorce and the breaking up of homes. The laws of nearly all modern nations recognize this as sufficient ground for divorce. It is also a cause of much marital unhappiness and neglect of children even when homes are not broken up.

4. *Effect Upon Morals.* — Perhaps the greatest effects, altho not the easiest to point out, is the effect upon the morals of society. It is responsible for the "double standard" which has existed from patriarchal times down to the present day and which has not been abolished to any great extent even now. Under this system man could do as he pleased, be as immoral as he cared to, and yet pass in the best of society; but if woman departed from the paths of chastity in the slightest, she was immediately ostracized. Women themselves have been much more severe in this ostracism than have men, accepting this condition among men as a matter of course, but never forgiving it in members of their own sex. In many sections of this country, especially in the Southern states, this double standard is still binding, and in no place has it been entirely dispensed with. But there is a tendency towards a single standard for both sexes; it is being acquired

not only by insisting upon a higher standard for men, but unfortunately by lowering the standard for women.

The moral effect extends to all phases of our life. It has corrupted police forces; it has adulterated our business and legal ethical codes. It has not only corrupted those who are connected with the evil, but it has affected the morals of the whole social fabric. How great has been this moral degeneracy we cannot say, because it does not lend itself to measurement; but without the social evil our morals should be on a vastly higher plane.

Treatment of Prostitution. — Society has always recognized prostitution as an evil and has continually taken steps to eliminate, check, control, or regulate it. This attempt cannot be discussed chronologically, because several methods generally are found at the same period of time, even in the same country. Also it cannot be treated altogether by countries, because most countries have tried several methods. We can, however, sum up our treatment under three heads: repression, regulation, and prevention.

1. *Repression.* — At first this was largely done thru the family, it has been the usual method of procedure in patriarchal countries. This was done in order to protect the purity of the family, it generally consisted in putting to death or ostracizing the offending woman, no attention being paid to the offending man. This was the Jewish method of handling the problem, altho the Jews treated it from the religious point of view as well as the family one. Thruout the Middle Ages there were passed at different times and in various places laws and ordinances against prostitution. The bulk of these were aimed at the woman in much the same manner that laws were made against criminals and beggars. The prostitute was whipped, branded, put into a cage and ducked until nearly dead from drowning, compelled to wear distinguishing dress, imprisoned, and exposed — often naked — to the public gaze and torment. But all these measures failed because no attempt was made to prevent the conditions which produced the evil. Yet this method still persists, especially in the United States thru the method of imposing fines and imprisonment. While it probably has some effect in checking or holding the evil within bounds, it cannot solve the problem.

2. *Regulation.* — Considering the problem as a more or less necessary evil, many countries have attempted to regulate it in order to minimize the evil and to protect society. This

policy is found in an elementary way in Greece and Rome, and is also found among some primitive peoples. It was tried out in mediæval times in various places in Europe in order to keep in check vicious conduct on the part of citizen women, and was thus an attempt to protect the families of citizens, to preserve public order, and to derive revenue. Houses of prostitution were legalized, in fact often licensed, and prostitutes were compelled either to live in certain sections of the towns or to wear a distinguishing dress, such as a badge. The revenues obtained were made use of not only by civic but even by religious bodies. These restrictions were levied in order to make the trade less profitable and to lessen the temptation, as well as to fill the treasury. In modern times regulation has been tried to protect not only the family but also the patron of the prostitute from disease; in fact, the chief feature of modern regulation has been the attempt to prevent infection from disease. For years France and Germany have licensed prostitutes, Paris adopting the custom of licensing in 1828, altho long before that time lists of prostitutes had been kept. In both Paris and Berlin weekly or bi-weekly examination of prostitutes for disease is made, and enforced treatment is provided in case disease is found. While attempts are made to list all prostitutes, Paris is said to have from fifty to sixty thousand prostitutes while only about six thousand are registered; for Berlin the figures are from twenty to thirty thousand with only 3,300 registered. Also the attempt to stamp out and prevent the infection from disease is a failure, because those who know they have disease do not register and generally escape detection, for a time at least, and also because examination does not always reveal the presence of disease. At first the listing of prostitutes led to many abuses, often forcing women into this life when they slipped from the paths of chastity, or even at times upon suspicion that they had done so. Now, however, attempts are made to prevent the novice from entering this life by the police, who have charge of these lists; in fact minors are enrolled only when they are known to be depraved, and attempts are made to permit those capable of reform to re-enter the ranks of society. The present trend is towards the abandonment of the policy of state regulation, as a means of dealing with prostitution. Many countries have some such regulation, but it is now being used because the officials do not know any better method of handling the evil. Modern

regulation generally includes some form of segregation, the prostitutes being either compelled to live in certain sections of the city, or forbidden to enter certain sections, in the hope of thus limiting contamination and thereby protecting the rest of society. This has been as far as regulation in the United States has extended, and as a result of this, coupled with economic conditions, there have developed in practically every large city in the United States at various times segregated vice districts, some cities, such as New York, often having several such districts. Many American cities have at various times and in different ways adopted, for a while at least, methods of licensing houses of prostitution, as, for example, by means of the payment of fines at regular intervals. More frequently, however, this has followed the method of graft in connection with politicians and police. The most of the leading cities in the United States have abolished their segregated districts; and the results have been more than favorable, altho at times the action apparently has not improved the situation, because it has forced prostitutes more upon the street and into residential districts and thus has made the problem more conspicuous even if the results are not so bad. When segregated districts are abolished, this law has to be supplemented by measures to prevent street walking and the scattering of the prostitutes in other parts of the city. On the whole, regulation does not regulate; at least it does not regulate satisfactorily.

3. *Prevention.* — As in other social problems, present efforts are directed towards prevention of prostitution rather than to its suppression or regulation. While this problem can never be entirely removed as long as human nature is as it is at present — for people will always sin and there will always be some too weak to resist temptation — the worst features of the situation can be eliminated and the evil can be minimized. Already the worst phases, especially the worst features of the "white slave traffic", have been greatly reduced; no longer does this business loom up as the terrible menace to unprotected womanhood that it formerly did. The percentage of men who patronize the houses of prostitution has also greatly diminished. Two methods are now being used for prevention: (1) education of the people to the dangers of prostitution and (2) the removal of the causes of prostitution.

(a). *Education.* — In the past not only were young people

kept by their parents in ignorance of the dangers but anything bearing on the subject was strictly tabooed as a subject of conversation in polite society. Not only did parents allow their sons to go out into the world without any knowledge of the dangers from disease, but they permitted their daughters to be exposed to the dangers of abduction and seduction by the various arms of the "white slave traffic", and also permitted them to marry men infected with venereal disease, often in its worst forms; thus they permitted them to enter upon lives of humiliation and suffering, to say nothing of the effect upon the next generation. Seldom did even the most conscientious parents instruct their children in these matters; instead they forced them to obtain for themselves this information, either from some vile and unscientific source or thru their own personal experience. It is no wonder that their sons visited houses of prostitution in order to satisfy their curiosity and that they in the majority of cases become infected with venereal diseases or that their daughters either married men similarly infected or were caught by the nets set by the traffickers. No more glaring example of the failure of parents to carry out their duty to their children has probably ever existed than this failure to instruct in regard to the dangers and temptations of this evil. Girls were not even supposed to know that such an evil as prostitution even existed; their minds were supposed to be kept in a pure state, at least until it came time for them to suffer by it, as a large per cent, if not the majority of them, were forced to do sooner or later. Fortunately for society these sins of parents are becoming a thing of the past. Society no longer taboos instruction upon these subjects, and the present generation is much more capable of resisting this evil. However, because of the failure of many to teach concerning this subject in the home (where such instruction especially belongs), modern schools are attempting to give some instruction along this line. As yet this has seldom been effectively done because of the inability of teachers to satisfactorily handle this matter. Books and magazine articles are written upon the subject and these reach the general public. Churches and religious organizations are also imparting knowledge on the topic; they are often too late, however, to do much good, and possibly they fail to reach those who need it the most because of the inability of the church to reach them. In former times ministers knew little about society; at least the seminaries

gave them no preparation of this sort — and they were incapable of dealing with the problem; but now the seminaries are slowly, if somewhat reluctantly, giving the ministerial students instruction which will be of practical use to them in the ministry. In this way ministers are becoming more able to grapple with the problem. In short, the members of the coming generation are getting some instruction as to the dangers of the evil, instruction which their parents and grandparents did not receive. In the past men always demanded chastity from the women they married. Now women are commencing to demand the same of the men they marry, and in the future women will in all probability be as strict in this regard as men are. This will probably go further towards doing away with the evil than any thing else, for if men know that it will be practically impossible to marry the women they want to if they have lived improper lives, they will be extremely careful in regard to sowing their wild oats. Then, too, if men know the dangers of disease and the effects of it upon their wives and children, they will again be more careful in regard to the lives they live. In the past they were ignorant of these dangers till it generally was too late. As a crystallization of public opinion along this line, some of our states have passed — and in all probability in the future more will pass — so-called “eugenic laws” forbidding the marriage of people infected with venereal disease. At present most of these laws have defects and are poorly enforced, but the coming years will probably see the remedying of these defects. Education of the people is necessary before we can expect the enactment of adequate laws or the enforcement of them after enactment. Education offers us the most effective means of combatting this evil.

(b). *Removal of the Causes.* — After we understand the problem and know what conditions contribute to the production of the evil, then we can effectively deal with them. Along this line comes the adoption of minimum wage scales, especially for women, in order to remove the terrible temptation of economic necessity. Proper building laws and the removal of slum conditions will be of tremendous value, because in many of our present tenements life is so sordid and privacy is so hard to obtain that vice is constantly being manufactured in them. The government has already taken steps to protect immigrant women. Y. W. C. A. organizations are also aiding in the protecting of girls coming to cities, as are also

all our settlements. The "white slave traffic" is being prosecuted more and more vigorously; but we need yet stricter laws, greater penalties, and still more vigorous prosecution. Parks, playgrounds, social centers, and settlements are furnishing more healthful recreation than formerly was obtainable, and so the sordidness and loneliness of the life of the wage-earner is being reduced. As education upon the subject spreads, we can expect to find more and more successful efforts for the removal of the causes of prostitution.

While in the past efforts were aimed at the supply without paying any attention to the demand side, modern methods are striking at the demand for prostitution and are thus aiming at the real cause of the problem. If the demand is eliminated the supply will automatically disappear. While the problem can never be entirely removed, it is by no means hopeless and can be reduced to a minimum.

Due to the recent war we have done much towards the elimination of this evil by curing the disease found among the soldiers, by educating the soldiers and the civilian population to the dangers, and compelling cities near army camps to clean up their vice districts.

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CHAPTER XXIV

DEFECTIVES

A problem which attracts very little attention but which is one of the most serious confronting the American people is that of feeble-mindedness. And what is still more to be wondered at, this is a problem which lends itself easily to treatment; in fact the danger from it can be easily prevented, for the plan of treatment has been more or less definitely worked out.

The first question which confronts us in this subject is, What is feeble-mindedness? Where are we going to draw the line? In certain communities a person might be perfectly able to keep up the pace, but when transferred to an environment where the pace is faster he might be classed as sub-normal. In one class in school a pupil might be able to do very good work, but if he should be transferred to a brighter division he might immediately become the dunce. The pace might be so much faster that it would make it impossible for the pupil in question not only to keep up but even to accomplish anything. In other words, the question is to a great extent a relative one. Yet by means of the Binet tests there have been marked out three more or less definite classes of defectives, according to the mental age of the person; that is, according as a person passes these tests with the same agility and accuracy as shown by a normal child of a given age. It is not that the defective knows only as much as a child of that age, for a feeble-minded person who has the age of eight years remain at the age of eight for the rest of his life, while the normal child is eight but one year, moving on to nine, and during that one year he cannot acquire so much as the feeble-minded acquires in the twenty or thirty years that he remains at that age, during which time he may acquire quite a fund of information — that is, such information as an eight year old would be able to acquire. The classification is made on the basis of mental ability. The three classes in which feeble-minded are divided are as follows:

1. *Idiots*, or those who never exceed the mentality possessed by the normal child of three years. They not only have little use or understanding of language but are unable to guard themselves against common dangers, such as falling into fire. Some are not able to walk, to sit up, or even to know when they are hungry or cold. The writer well remembers a ward in the feeble-minded school at Waverly, Massachusetts, in which there were a score or more of this class, the majority of whom would starve to death with food all around them, or freeze unless pains were taken to see that they were covered up and kept warm. In other words, they were great babies and had to be cared for as such. It is this class in regard to which the question is always brot up, Would it not be better quietly to put them out of their misery? This class composes about ten per cent of the feeble-minded population.

2. *Imbeciles*, or those possessing minds of children from three to eight years of age. People of this class are able to protect themselves against the ordinary dangers of life, such as being run over by a team, falling into fire, or falling and injuring themselves, but they do not possess sufficient brain power to do the commonplace work of life. They are able to play if the play is directed; they can easily be made happy, but they are unable to master more than the bare rudiments of an education, never being able even to read or write with any fluency or speed. They form a class which is not able to take care of itself in ordinary society but which is very easily cared for in the proper institutions.

3. *Morons*, or those having mentalities of from eight to twelve. They are able to do the ordinary work of life, to do customary tasks, and in general to pass in society without attracting much attention. But for this very reason this class is the most dangerous of all, for it is the one which furnishes many of the criminals, a large percentage of our prostitutes, the delinquent children in our juvenile courts and reform schools, and the dull and backward children in our schools. Morons lack the will power to keep out of trouble; they have not the mental firmness to resist temptation, for

to be moral or law abiding requires a certain amount of strength of mind. It is this class which is not cared for by our feeble-minded schools, and it is this class which is the dangerous one to society, for it is this one, whose members reproduce so rapidly. The idiot does not reproduce and the imbecile seldom mates, but the moron not only does marry but — what is more serious — reproduces out of wedlock.

Extent of Feeble-Mindedness. — As to the extent of feeble-mindedness we have no reliable figures or percentage of the population to offer, estimates varying from one-third of one per cent to three and four per cent of our population; probably two per cent is the number that is most nearly accurate, and this would include many high grade morons who sometimes manage to care for themselves. The danger is not with our present number but in the rapidity with which it is increasing. While from eighty-five to ninety-five per cent of our insane are cared for in insane asylums, only from ten to fifteen per cent of the feeble-minded are so cared for; in fact we do not know just how many feeble-minded there are. We do not fear them physically in the way we do the insane, for in that sense they are harmless. While each thousand of the most fit of our population produce in fifty years 667 descendants, each thousand of the least fit produce 3,650 descendants, or almost six times as many. The moron has the physique, the passions, and the power to reproduce, but he lacks the ability to control his passions, and as a result he secures a large progeny. Now every defective is not only a potential delinquent but a probable one, depending upon the hands into which he falls.

Feeble-Mindedness and Crime and Vice. — At present we have no control over the feeble-minded until he or she becomes delinquent; control is by means of the reform school, reformatory, or workhouse. From one-fourth to one-half of the children appearing before the juvenile courts are mentally deficient; our reformatories and reform schools are full of them. Following are a few results of tests or of estimates of the superintendents as to the per cent of feeble-mindedness in some of our leading reformatories:¹

¹Goddard, "*Feeble-Mindedness, Its Causes and Consequences*", p. 9.

<i>Institution—</i>	<i>Per Cent Defective</i>
St. Cloud Reformatory, Minnesota.....	54
Rahway Reformatory, New Jersey (Binet test).....	46
Bedford Reformatory, New York, (under 11 years).....	80
Lancaster, Massachusetts (girls' reformatory).....	60
Lancaster, Massachusetts (50 paroled girls).....	82
Lyman School for Boys, Westboro, Massachusetts.....	28
Pentonville, Illinois, Juveniles.....	40
Massachusetts Reformatory, Concord.....	52
Newark, New Jersey, Juvenile Court.....	66
Elmira Reformatory, New York.....	70
Geneva, Illinois, (Binet test).....	89
Ohio Boys School (Binet test).....	70
Ohio Girls School (Binet test).....	70
Virginia, Three Reformatories (Binet test).....	79
New Jersey State Home for Girls.....	75
Glen Mills Schools, Pennsylvania, Girls' Dept.....	72

It will be noticed that the percentage of feeble-minded is higher, as a rule, in the female schools than in the male institutions. This is owing to the fact that the feeble-minded girl is more liable to get into trouble than the feeble-minded boy; tho it might seem from the data given above that there are more feeble-minded girls than boys, the opposite is true. Feeble-minded girls have less will power and are the prey of unscrupulous men, while the defective man has little attraction for the normal woman. It is generally estimated that fully fifty per cent of our prostitutes are mentally defective. Goddard asserts that at least fifty per cent of the criminals are mentally defective, altho it is more generally estimated that from twenty-five to fifty per cent are such. Feeble-minded people are not by nature more vicious or criminal than other people; in fact the contrary is true. The ordinary mentally defective person is docile and easy to manage. The trouble with them as a class is that they lack control; they are unable to withstand temptation, and so fall easily into vice or crime. They are unable to distinguish clearly between right and wrong, and instead of being regarded as ordinary criminals they should be treated as children or as insane, and should not be held accountable for their actions. The feeble-minded person has the body of an adult but the mind of a child, and it is illogical and unjust to expect as much from him as from a normal adult.

The same situation is true of the mentally defective in regard to alcoholism. Since there is less ability to withstand

temptation, the feeble-minded person readily falls a victim to drink. Now since the liquor traffic has been eliminated in the United States, this temptation is of course removed in this country. Under the old order of things every feeble-minded person was a potential drunkard. All that was needed was to put him in the way of temptation.

Feeble-mindedness and Poverty.—The connection of feeble-mindedness with poverty and pauperism is much the same as with crime. The feeble-minded person lacks the mental capacity to make a living. Under our present economic system the race is for the strong, and the weak are ground under the feet of the strong. The idiot is incapable of doing anything and must become a public or a private charge. The imbecile is able to do simple things but never prepared really to support himself under his own direction. The moron is able to work at ordinary labor but is incapable of planning things and is therefore unable to direct his life in a sane and logical manner. All of these classes sooner or later are compelled to look to others for help. Some are aided by relatives but others become public charges. In nearly all of our states under the present requirements for marriage the moron and at times even the imbecile is permitted to marry and thus add to the problem. Some of these might be able to look after themselves or to earn enuf to do so, but when it comes to the question of supporting a family, it is impossible for him to be successful. Then added to this is the complicating fact already discussed that feeble-minded people have large families. Many of these make out a wretched existence in some broken down dwelling, suffering in winter from cold and privation. Their hardships are sometimes alleviated by neighbors and friends, but the problem remains unsolved. Others fall back upon the almshouse or public relief. Goddard thinks that it is highly probable that fifty per cent of the pauperism in this country is due to mental defectiveness.¹ As we indicated before, feeble-mindedness is a matter of degree, it being hard to draw the line at times between those who are defective and those who are normal. As a result of this it is believed that many, if not the majority, of our ne'er-do-wells are such because they lack the mental capacity to be anything else. Tho they may have the ability to work, they usually lack the ability to plan life intelligently. Their

¹Goddard, "*Feeble-Mindedness, Its Causes and Consequences*", p. 17.

judgment is inaccurate, and their mental capacity is so low that they are unable to adjust themselves to their environment. They may be able to get along during prosperity but when difficulties arise they are incapable of surmounting them.

Feeble-mindedness and Education. — Our schools are full of pupils who are dull and unable to learn. While many of them are such because of laziness, poor health, insufficient food, and lack of care, others are backward for the simple reason that they are defective mentally. They have not the ability to learn in the same way that the normal child acquires knowledge. They cannot think in abstract terms and they are slow of comprehension or weak in memory, being unable to recall tomorrow what they learn today. These pupils clog the schools and slow up the system. It sometimes seems almost useless to try to teach such pupils; they simply are unable to make any progress in the ordinary school system. The presence of such children is not only an injustice to themselves, since they need special attention, but a hardship to the normal students, who are held back by them and whose education is thus handicapped.

The problem of truancy is another in which feeble-mindedness is involved. Many children become truants because they cannot succeed in school.

Causes of Feeble-mindedness. — It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the exact importance of each of the various causes of feeble-mindedness. The alleged cause is often not the true cause. But the best authorities agree in saying that at least two-thirds of all feeble-mindedness is due to heredity — to the presence of bad stock. Feeble-mindedness is a characteristic which can be treated as a unit characteristic; as such it has been found to obey the laws of Mendelism, and is thus inherited in the same as other characteristics. If the mentally defective were not allowed to propagate, we should stamp out at one blow two-thirds of our future feeble-mindedness. The other third is due to many causes, such as accident. There is a type of feeble-mindedness, known as the Mongolian, because of the resemblance to Mongolian physical characteristics, which comes more often from the better families than from the poorer or less capable families. It apparently cannot be explained, except in individual cases. Sometimes the mental defect is due to malnutrition before birth, or to a blow or accident to the fœtus; sometimes it is attributed to hard labor or the use of instru-

ments at birth. Yet often under such circumstances the child is perfectly normal. In investigations made by Goddard nineteen per cent of the causes were attributed to accidents, of which 8.2 per cent happened before birth and 10.6 per cent after birth. Of the latter 5.3 per cent were attributed to spinal meningitis, which in the past has been a common disease and one which was extremely fatal. It is estimated that the mortality ran as high as seventy-five per cent and that of the twenty-five per cent who survived, ninety-seven per cent became mentally defective. Under present methods of treatment the mortality has been reduced to twenty-five per cent, but the number who are affected mentally is as yet undetermined, probably being far less. Syphilis is another cause, but due to difficulty in obtaining data, the exact percentage is unobtainable. Consanguinity has been suggested as a cause, but investigation does not confirm this suggestion. If the stock was good it seldom has any bad effect, but does when the stock is questionable; in short, consanguinity may increase feeble-mindedness, but seldom causes it.

Treatment of Feeble-mindedness.—In the past the treatment of feeble-minded persons was that of neglect. Those unable to care for themselves were either left to the care of their relatives or were thrust into almshouses, along with all other dependents. They were the prey of the stronger or became the object of sport of the community. The town fool has always been a familiar figure and is so even to this day, an object for torment by all the boys of the community. Those who were unable to do anything generally were left to the public to support. Special schools for the feeble-minded have existed for a long time, for upwards of a century, in fact, but the trouble has been that all who belong there have not been sent there. In the United States especially we have no laws compelling their segregation and they have been so cared for only when their relatives were willing and when there was plenty of room in special institutions. Another great difficulty has been that the institutions have not had the room to care for the feeble-minded population, having waiting lists longer than the lists of inmates; moreover, those who have been admitted have generally been the idiots and low grade imbeciles who were a burden to the relative to care for and so were not wanted. They, as a matter of fact, are the least important, for it makes little difference whether they live or not, and then they never reproduce. The ones who most

need to be confined — the high-grade imbeciles and the morons — are cared for least; and yet it is in them that the principal danger lies. It might not be a bad plan for the idiots to be moved out of our special schools and left in the almshouses or cared for by the towns or counties and for the schools for feeble-minded to be reserved for the care of the higher classes. If parents object there is usually no control at all, and many parents so object thru ignorance, not knowing that the child is better off in an institution where he is protected from those with whom he is unable to compete.

The modern theory of treatment is to take these unfortunates off the body politic, protect them, make their lives as happy as possible, train them to the extent their minds will allow, and make them useful and either self-supporting or as nearly so as their capacity will permit. The boys in the brick yard of the New Jersey school for the feeble-minded at Vineland cost the state only about sixty-nine dollars apiece and produce one hundred dollars worth of brick apiece. In the other departments the school is nearly self-supporting; in some, more than self-supporting. Most well managed schools for the feeble-minded do nearly all their own work, produce most of their commodities, and sell besides some articles for outside consumption; so their cost of upkeep is very small. Work is made as pleasant and congenial as possible, most of the work being done as part of a game. Children alternate their work so as to avoid monotony, spending an hour or so in the school room, then an hour or so in the cobbler's shop or in whatever place they work, then an hour in play, with a competent instructor; then perhaps they are next sent to the school room again, and then they work or play, in this manner taking up all the time; moreover the study or work is not allowed to grow wearisome. In the matter of instruction less is accomplished than in the teaching of them to be efficient workers, but by means of a play method a great deal is done. Madame Montessori borrowed from a Paris school for feeble-minded the system which she gave to the world; it is merely an adaptation to the normal child of methods which for over seventy years had been in vogue for the teaching of the feeble-minded. Senses of feeling, tasting, and smelling are brought into use to supplement that of sight. Instead of dealing with abstract ideas or with imaginary things, the instructors use instead loaves of bread, bricks, or apples; they so manipulate these that the child will readily

grasp the point. Such children should never be compelled to do things, but taught to want to do things. In this way they are often made very useful, especially in such work as caring for other children and doing simple ordinary tasks. At Waverly, Massachusetts, the men as soon as they become grown are sent to another place, where they work at clearing and developing poor land. This keeps them out in the open and enables them to pay for their keep, and, not being worked hard, they are happy and contented. In this way the majority of the institutions for the feeble-minded are very efficient. All that is needed is an extension of their equipment and the compelling of all feeble-minded, especially the morons, to be thus cared for by the state. This requires proper legislation and adequate enforcement. Such persons should be kept in institutions for life except in cases of mistake and the rare ones of recovery, which is sometimes made possible thru operations on the brain and spinal column.

Sterilization has at times been advocated for the feeble-minded, but is no longer advocated, for it is too inhuman and allows the person to spread disease even if he is not able to propagate. It gives too much power to others. Then it is unnecessary, for segregation is no hardship; in fact in most cases it is a blessing to the afflicted one for it shelters him. Here he can be happy and useful. It is also cheaper for society, for outside of a school for feeble-minded the person seldom is able to be self-supporting. In this way about two-thirds of the cases of feeble-mindedness will be checked, checked in a humane and pleasant manner. Removal of the liquor traffic and reduction of immorality will still further reduce the number of feeble-minded. In short, this problem can be very easily handled. All that is needed is a little agitation, the proper legislation, and a few thousands of dollars for initial investment; then there will be required only small yearly appropriations for upkeep, and even these in many cases will be unnecessary. It is strange that a problem so easy of solution has been sadly neglected in the past.

Blind, Deaf, Etc. — Similar to feeble-mindedness are blindness and deafness. Between eighty and ninety per cent of the cases of blindness are caused by the venereal diseases, especially syphilis. Blindness is held in check to a great extent by dropping mercurial solutions in the eyes of newborn children. The remedy "606" is also stopping to a certain extent the ravages of syphilis. Then our widespread agi-

tation against the social evil and the advertising of the effects of immorality are cutting down slowly but steadily its extent. So in time we can look for the curtailment in a large measure of blindness. Deafness is slightly different. While it is inherited like other traits and obeys the laws of Mendelism, it is as yet not a dangerous problem; in fact a person who is deaf and dumb is very rare. Deafness is sometimes caused by close breeding and intermarriage, but as yet we have no data concerning this source. These two problems can be greatly alleviated by proper education. The blind can be taught by use of the fingers and special adapted letters. They can easily learn trades and in most cases earn a living without much trouble. The deaf are still better off, for thru education they can not only be taught to understand others by lip-reading but can often even learn to speak. Then by means of special sign alphabets they can easily communicate; it is only a matter of inconvenience. When only one sense is lacking, the others easily supply it by becoming keener. Of course those thus afflicted are always handicapped, except in such arts as music, in which the blind seem to be perfectly able to hold their own. But as problems education solves these two very easily. They do not present the dangerous feature that feeble-mindedness does, for the blind and deaf have the same control over themselves as normal persons and so do not propagate any faster than normal people—in fact, not so rapidly, because of the difficulty in finding partners. Moreover, blindness is not inherited and deafness often is not.

Insanity.—It is entirely beyond the purpose of this volume to attempt to define insanity, or to take up its various forms, or to enter in any degree of detail into the discussion of the causes of insanity. Sociology recognizes insanity as an abnormal condition of the individual; our purpose is merely to call attention to it as an example of defectiveness, as a part of our treatment of the maladjustments of society. Insanity is a condition which affects the nervous systems, the mind, and therefore the conduct of individuals. As in the case of feeble-mindedness, it is extremely difficult to draw the line between sanity and insanity; in fact no sharp line can be drawn. The perfect man mentally is about as rare as the perfect man physically; yet this does not mean that those who are imperfect are insane. Many people are peculiar in traits and habits and are known as queer in their temperament who are by no means considered insane. Even if a per-

son is eccentric and markedly different from his fellows, he is not necessarily insane. From the legal point of view, if a person leads a normal life and can successfully attend to his own business, preserve a fair degree of peace with his relatives and neighbors, and is able to perform the ordinary functions of society, he is perfectly sane, even if he be peculiar in a hundred different ways. If a person cannot attend to his own affairs or if he becomes dangerous to those around him, he may then be declared insane. Because insanity is a matter of degree it is extremely difficult to obtain data in regard to it, and any statistics which are offered are open to a great deal of criticism.

It is often asserted that insanity is a disease of civilization; and in support of this theory statistics showing the increase of insanity are advanced, data which seems to indicate that as the strain of civilization increases more persons are unable to withstand the pressure and consequently break under the strain. But when it is carefully examined, it is found that a great deal if not all of the increase is due to the fact that an increasingly larger percentage of insane find their way into the asylums and thus more are detected and counted. Also because of the humane treatment the insane live longer than formerly; hence the percentage is greater. It is observed that more manual laborers become insane than professional people. In fact the professional men and women who undergo the greatest strain, such as teachers, lawyers, and physicians, have less than one-half the amount of insanity found among laborers; and the lowest rate of all exists among teachers, who have probably the greatest mental strain. It is found that monotony of work is far more injurious than strain of life. A person can endure strain if there is variety. Because of this fact we find a great deal of insanity among farmers and especially farmers' wives.

There are many forms or shades of insanity; some of the leading ones are mania, in which insanity takes an active form, such as suicidal or homicidal mania; melancholia, paranoia, in which the afflicted person appears lucid or normal on most subjects but has delusions in regard to certain subjects, such as religion; dementia, a general decay of the mind, often following some other form; and paresis, or general paralysis. Students of the subject have made many subdivisions of these and have recognized a large number of other forms of apparent insanity. Insanity is also connected

with feeble-mindedness and epilepsy. Theoretically, the distinction between feeble-mindedness and insanity is an easy one: those who never attain normal development are classified as feeble-minded and those who are born normal and attain a normal mind but lose it subsequently are classed as insane. However, in practice it is often difficult to draw this line. Epilepsy, as we shall see later, often leads to or ends in mental incapacity.

The causes of insanity are many and varied; the subject is one over which there has been endless dispute. The following are among the causes advanced: epilepsy, mental distress, violent emotion, alcoholism, drugs, influenza, mental strain, senility, congenital defects, heredity, injuries, rheumatism, diseases, such as tuberculosis and syphilis, child-birth, religious excitement, monotony, overwork, low diet, homesickness, jealousy, fright, and business troubles. Thus there are two main groups of causes — heredity and stress of life. Malnutrition and poor functioning of the different organs of the body are nearly always accompaniments of insanity.

Treatment of the Insane. — With primitive man insane persons were generally deserted or killed, altho in some cases they were protected. Later they came in for ill treatment until the time of the Middle Ages, when they were regarded as criminals; confined in jails and dungeons, loaded with chains, and compelled to endure every indignity. Such methods have of course been outlawed, and the insane are now looked upon as unfortunate rather than as delinquent, altho it has been only a few years since this country was aroused over the brutal methods of treatment used in many of our insane asylums. The care of the insane is now considered a public duty, it being thot unwise to leave this work to private enterprise or philanthropic bounty. Former methods of restraint, including cell, dungeon, cage, ball and chain, straight-jacket, whip, shower-bath, bleeding, and starving, have given way to kindness and the mingled firmness and patience of the attendants. It is very rare that any other methods have to be used. Insanity is not looked upon now as the horrible calamity, which it was formerly regarded as being; much of it is now considered curable. Upon admission to the ordinary asylum today the patient is taken to the hospital, where the case is diagnosed and, if it is found to be subject to treatment, is handled accordingly, either in the hospital or elsewhere. If an insane person recovers, it is

usually during his first year of insanity. So it is wise and economical to be generous—even lavish—during the first few months, because in this way the state is saved a large percentage of future patients. Acute cases need individual treatment, particularly baths, varied diets, massage and the use of electricity, in much the same way that any ordinary sick person does. Chronic cases need custodian treatment, but fifty per cent of the insane are quiet and orderly; many are capable of working. Most of our best equipped insane asylums have farms attached, where many of the inmates work. Of the methods of construction of asylum buildings the one most commonly followed in the past has been the large, rectangular dormitory, divided into wards, by which some kind of classification of inmates is made. While this plan attracted attention because it was economical and conducive to a feeling of pride on the part of the residents of the town in which the asylum was located, it is not the scientific method of construction, because it does not give sufficient opportunity for individual treatment. Similar to this and in many ways superior to it is the pavilion plan, with wings of two stories in height, thus giving better light and ventilation. But the approved method today is the cottage plan, for much the same reasons that it is the approved method of almshouse construction. In Belgium the colony system was made famous at Gheel and has been adopted in several European countries. In addition to a hospital the bulk of the patients are taken into the homes of the peasants and treated as members of the family. This would not suit American conditions. In Scotland about one-fifth of the patients are boarded out in private families under definite supervision. Here they are treated neither as servants nor guests but as members of the family. This method has been followed to some extent in Massachusetts with some of the best patients with good results. But modern methods include hospital treatment for those capable of recovery, custodial treatment under the cottage plan for chronic cases, and where possible colonization on farms of those capable of that work and in need of outdoor life. The physical side is looked after very well at the present day, but the psychological side is often neglected. Sufficient recreation and amusement are too often lacking, altho in most asylums efforts are now being made along that line.

Epilepsy.—Epilepsy is a disease which is receiving more

attention now than formerly. There are different forms of this disease and as a result various classes of epileptics. Some are violent and liable to injure themselves or their companions, while others have the disease in a mild form. Some are able to carry on the ordinary work of life and maintain themselves; while others, because of the frequency and violence of the attacks, are unable to care for themselves. Epilepsy is connected with feeble-mindedness; it is a cause of feeble-mindedness; on the other hand some feeble-minded persons become epileptic. While epilepsy does not seriously affect the body, as a rule it affects the mind and often leads to feeble-mindedness. It is essentially a nervous disease and is hereditary to a marked degree, but it is also caused by sudden fright, prolonged mental strain, over-work, and debauchery. As noted above, it is often a cause of insanity.

While formerly either neglected or cared for in individual cases by physicians, it is now being treated more and more in institutions or colonies. The first colony was at Bielefeld, Germany. Several colonies have been established in the United States, usually with a farm attached, such as the Craig colony at Sonyea, New York. The modern treatment calls for the cottage plan with an outdoor life or some form of farm colony where individual attention can be given and the mental strain and humiliation reduced to a minimum.

On the whole, insanity and epilepsy are not the dangerous problem for society that feeble-mindedness is. The insane we keep in institutions, and the problem in connection with them is largely one of wise and humane treatment. With epilepsy the case is largely the same. We recognize the problem in much the same manner as with insanity and are taking steps to prevent its injuring society. As to feeble-mindedness, we have not yet awakened to the danger of the situation; yet this problem is by far the most serious of the three.

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PART SIX
SOCIAL PROGRESS



CHAPTER XXV

PROGRESS

In this chapter no effort will be made to present any theory of progress, or even to do any theorizing in regard to what progress is, other than to accept it as a moving forward of society and a bettering of conditions in society; instead the aim will be to show that society is advancing. There is no question about progress in the increase of knowledge, in the production of wealth, and in our industrial development. In economic life progress is so self-evident that there is no argument in regard to it. But when the welfare of those engaged in industry is considered, there is room for an argument. In regard to religious and moral welfare we constantly hear people bemoaning a supposed decline or degeneracy. History is full of instances of states becoming corrupt and failing to serve the people. The family is even criticized at times as failing in its mission and men sometimes say that it has outlived its usefulness. Pessimists are constantly reminding us that things are going from bad to worse. No careful student of the question can agree with such pessimistic philosophy. To disprove such arguments one has only to compare conditions in society today with those of a few hundred years ago.

Social Institutions Becoming More Useful. — *Family.* — Under matriarchy the family relationship often broke down and the family did not always serve as it should; at best it was a more or less make-shift arrangement. Under patriarchy it was solidified altho by the subjection of the wife and children to the male. Women became either degraded in position or a servant to her husband, often a mere chattel in his household. As time has passed, the position of woman has become more elevated and her lot made easier, until now in most countries she bids fair to stand in the near future upon the same footing as man and to enjoy equal privileges and opportunities. The family is also functioning better in regard to the children than formerly. At one time children could be, and often were, sold into slavery by their parents. Under

patriarchy the father had the right of life and death over them, just as he did over his wife, a condition which no longer exists in civilized countries. Formerly children were much neglected—and in some cases are even today, but not in the degree that they formerly were. On the whole, the family is functioning much better than it ever did in the past. Much more is expected of the family relationship; we now demand happiness and comfort, while formerly the family was looked upon largely only as a means of continuing the race.

Government.—In regard to government there is constant evolution; a government which does not serve the people in the best manner is sooner or later supplanted by one which does. When a government becomes tyrannical or oppressive, it is overthrown as soon as the forces which are held back, become strong enuf to do so. There has been a constant growth in the part taken in government by the people governed. At first government was largely a form of machinery used to carry out the selfish interests of a few, but now government to be successful must serve the people in the best manner possible. Of recent years there has been a growing tendency towards republics or constitutional forms of government. Even within these forms there is a steady growth in the usefulness of government. In our own country we are constantly striving to eliminate privilege and graft and to serve the people in a better manner. While all governments are far from perfect—in fact they all have many flaws—there is no comparison between the service to people rendered by a modern government, such as that of the United States, Great Britain, France, or even Germany, and that of Babylon, Ancient Egypt, Assyria, Persia, or even Rome. The ancient government was cruel, narrow, and tyrannical; the modern government protects and serves its citizens.

Religion.—We often hear of the decline in religion—that religion is dying out. While formalism in religion is decreasing and altho the arbitrary control of religion is diminishing, religion itself is becoming purer and more useful to man. With primitive religion control was obtained thru superstition and fear. Under early Christianity, even down to Puritan times, control was exercised to a great extent thru fear. Religion in the past was narrow; one form of religion would not tolerate another. Indeed, under Christianity horrible persecutions were carried out in the name of religion, simply because

of the narrowness and bigotry of religious leaders. Religion, like government, is becoming less arbitrary and is seeking to serve mankind more and more. In our study of religion we noticed a steady evolution, that Christianity is the highest form of religion known to us today. In the same way there is a steady development in Christianity itself, for it is becoming purer and is carrying out more than ever the teachings of Christ. It is trying to lead rather than to drive, to serve rather than to compel obedience to set forms and ideas. It is not trying so much to force the same religious ideas or the same theological doctrines upon all, but to permit each person to work out his own creed and to worship as he sees fit.

Moral Standards and Ideals. — As society advances, ethical standards and ideals become loftier and purer. If we compare our codes of ethics with those of Babylon or Ancient Egypt, or of the Early Hebrews and Greeks, we shall be surprised by the contrast. We shall find that old ideas of revenge and doctrines of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" are supplanted by Christian principles of reconciliation and forgiveness. We no longer sanction slavery and infanticide. We have ceased to torture prisoners and witnesses or invent ingenious methods of inflicting the most pain imaginable upon criminals. We even condemn wife-beating and child labor and try to reform criminals when it is possible — ideals which in times past would have been scoffed at as insane. We even demand an equality of opportunity for all. While occasionally we may lapse temporarily in our moral standards, it is nearly always because we have outgrown the old standard before a new one has been formed.

Education. — Altho our educational systems come in for much criticism, education is constantly becoming more useful. The very fact that we find flaws in our educational methods is a hopeful sign. Probably the greatest advance in education is the putting of it within the reach of all, instead of restricting it to only a few, as in the past. Education is striving more and more to serve the individual and to benefit society.

In brief, the institutions of society are all becoming more useful to society. Society is often breaking down the control of institutions over individuals and forcing them to be of greater service to mankind.

Society Functioning More Perfectly.—The interests in society are becoming more healthful and less selfish and individual. The spirit of altruism is steadily developing, and we are more and more willing to admit the interests of others than ourselves; even nations are coming to adopt such an attitude, as evinced by the colonial policy of Great Britain and by the attitude of the United States towards her neighbors, especially Mexico. Economic interests are now being forced to recognize the health interests of the workers. Society is continually trying to curb and hold in check selfish interests that are injurious to the public, and to eliminate organizations and groups centered about such interests, as the liquor business, prostitution, and political rings. While individual interests will always be more or less selfish, society is continually holding this tendency in check and striving to make them more healthful and useful to society, as well as to the individuals having them.

Systems or means of control are becoming more efficient. Public opinion is now saner and more useful, since we are constantly improving our means of communication, thus allowing it to become more enlightened. It is being educated by use and thus is becoming more efficient as a means of control as well as more effective in its working. Laws are being made more democratic and practical. During the past few years we have had a wonderful development in social legislation. Practically all European nations have accident insurance for workers in industry, and over half of them have systems of sickness insurance; many have systems of old age pensions. In the United States we are backward in this line but have made some progress during the last few years and just now are showing signs of soon being abreast of other countries. Already we have systems of workmen's compensation in nearly all of our states, mothers' pension legislation in about two-thirds, and minimum wage laws in several, and much sentiment is being created in favor of health insurance and a system of permanent employment bureaus after the order of the system which was so successful during the war. We are adopting laws protecting the health and morals of workers in all branches of industry. Laws have been passed regulating the hours of work for women and minors in many states, legislation against night work, and generally limiting the hours for women to eight. In industries where long hours are dangerous to the public, like railroading, we are adopting

shorter hours, sometimes voluntarily and sometimes by means of legislation. Laws have been passed protecting the health of workers in many of the dangerous and unhealthful industries, such as that forbidding the use of poisonous phosphorous in the manufacture of matches, because of the effect upon the workers' jaws and teeth. Laws are rapidly compelling manufacturers to protect their workers from dangerous machinery by the use of safety devices, guards, etc.

In the past laws were made by the strong for their own interests; now they are being made more and more to control and curb the strong and to protect the weak. We are passing laws against rebating, pooling, and other illegal methods of competition in business. In our legal machinery we are giving the weak a better chance for justice, as illustrated by the instituting of the public defender.

As already suggested, control by religion, while it is breaking down in direct effectiveness, is becoming more helpful both to the individual and to society. Instead of standing in the way of reform, religion is now doing its utmost to bring reforms to pass. It is teaching its followers to be more useful to society by teaching them to help society, rather than to isolate themselves from the world. Control by education, ideals, and enlightenment is becoming more and more important. Instead of choosing our president from the ranks of warriors and lawyers, we have recently chosen one from the teaching profession. Increasingly are scientists, professional men, and experts called into consultation or placed in positions of responsibility. Not only is social control more efficient and useful, but it is affording a larger share of equality than in the past. Instead of exercising power for the interests of some one class, control aims towards greater liberty and democracy. Control by artificial means, such as superstition, ceremony, habit, and custom, is becoming less and less important; and control by means of public opinion, education, and enlightenment is greatly increasing.

Our whole social organization is working together in a more harmonious manner; that is, it allows greater moral development and wider equalization of opportunities. There may, however, be more criticism at times of our social order, for the simple reason that where the worst conditions in society exist, the lower classes are held down in such a condition of wretchedness and helplessness that they are unable to protest, or have no hope of improving their condition, or have been

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made to believe that they were destined for an inferior position. We find a constant tendency towards the socializing of our institutions. In our political life we find socialistic tendencies constantly coming to the front, in some countries thru a definite socialistic party, and in other countries, especially the United States and Great Britain, in the adopting by the great political parties of socialistic policies, such as social insurance in Great Britain and governmental control in this country. While we may criticize the condition of social classes, especially in some countries, the social order of the present is far preferable to the social order of past. Our class distinctions may be obnoxious and disagreeable at times, but they do not stand in the way of equality, liberty, and progress, as did the social orders of such countries as Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, France under the Bourbons, Russia under the Romonoffs, and any of the countries during mediæval days. Faults in the present social order are generally the results of petty frictions; but we are constantly removing the causes of these and smoothing over the rough spots. New problems are of course constantly developing with the change in methods and the ushering in of new orders, like those caused by the invention of machines or by scientific discoveries, but society grapples with the difficulties and overcomes them. While society is constantly becoming more complex and intricate in its organization, it is functioning more successfully than the social organization of the past, in that it is serving humanity better and allowing greater progress of mankind.

Social Maladjustment Becoming Less Harmful. — In regard to the problems of society one has merely to compare our present-day problems with those of yesterday. Altho we are constantly being warned of the danger of some problem in society and altho some people are continually becoming alarmed over the rise of some new condition and because of it are predicting dire calamity to society, our great problems of yesterday are steadily becoming less dangerous, and we are meeting and grappling with the new dangers that arise. Poverty and crime have always been our greatest social problems; at various times they have been considered hopeless, and often society has been alarmed by their overwhelming proportions. While both of these great problems are with us — and always will be in some form — we no longer look upon them as hopeless. We are now digging up the roots of

the problems of poverty and crime and striving to eliminate their causes as well as applying the best known remedies to their needs. In regard to crime we are endeavoring to protect society and to reform all of our criminals who are capable of reform, and at the same time are attempting to deal with the causes of crime and to prevent their producing future criminals. Tho our efforts in this line at present are crude and clumsy and tho we often fall down in the carrying out of our plans, we are working in the right direction and are achieving results.

The liquor question has been one that in former times we looked upon not as a serious problem but as a natural condition. Later we became alarmed and started to deal with it, but without much success except in the way of educating the people in regard to its evils and creating public sentiment against it. Then when sentiment was sufficiently developed we systematically went about the solution of this problem in the United States and quickly adopted prohibition; thus we have reduced this problem to one of law enforcement. In Europe since the beginning of the great war gigantic strides have been taken in the same direction, and the handling of the problem even there, where it was more firmly entrenched than in the United States, is meeting with the same success.

In regard to immorality, while the condition has been bad enuf during the past few decades, it has by no means approached the proportions of the conditions that existed in Rome and in Europe during the Middle Ages. We are also making this problem slip into the background in importance, because here too we are not trying to curb or suppress the top of the growth but are trying to deal with the root of the evil by eliminating the causes of the conditions — we are trying to reduce and eliminate as far as possible the demand for the evil, instead of merely dealing with the supply side of the problem. As in our treatment of crime, instead of trying to suppress vice we are trying to prevent it. Our efforts in this direction have thus far met with only moderate success in this country, but we are advancing; in time we shall at least eliminate the worst features of the problem.

In regard to the defective classes we are again trying to deal with the problem from the correct angle — that of elimination, in as humane and altruistic a manner as possible. We are endeavoring to eliminate these classes largely by preventing their propagation and the consequent bringing in of future

generations to take their place. Thus instead of becoming overwhelmed by the dangerous classes, we shall eliminate them. We have not progressed very far in this policy in the case of the feeble-minded, but we are awaking to the need of action and soon shall be handling the question in a scientific manner.

While our outlook is very optimistic and hopeful, this improvement will not come about without continuous struggle and effort; hence the constant need of the trained sociologist as well as of the reformed. It will require the conscious endeavor of society and a steady determination to achieve progress. Instead of a *laissez faire* policy constant struggle and effort are necessary.

At the present time the tremendous world conflict, thru which we have just passed, the greatest and most disastrous struggle that history has known, seems to deny, or at least shake, any such optimistic philosophy. At the beginning of the war it seemed as if the knell of European civilization might have been sounded, and even now after the war has been over for some time this possibility has not been entirely banished. But we are living entirely too near the terrible struggle to see it in its true perspective. The war, terrible as it has been, may make possible a condition of achievement which would have been impossible without it. The French Revolution seemed terrible in its bloodshed, but the later prosperous and happy France would not have been possible without it. The Chicago fire and the San Francisco earthquake were terrible disasters, but the present Chicago and San Francisco would have been impossible without them; similarly the burning of Rome and London were blessings in disguise. Out of the ruins caused by the recent struggle there may emerge a free and prosperous Europe, and a plane of civilization may be reached which would have been impossible without this colossal holocaust. Already the indications are that a condition of greater democracy and political freedom will be achieved, as well as greater social advances. Perhaps the world needed such a terrible test of fire to bring out the finer qualities of character and to produce a higher type of civilization. Such has been the history in the past; the present indications are that the recent war, instead of standing in the way of progress, will permit still greater progress in the future. Only time can tell.

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